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Notes Towards a Correct Collation
of the First Edition of *Vanity Fair*

By DAVID A. RANDALL

BIBLIOGRAPHERS and editors have never lavished upon *Vanity Fair* the same care and attention that they have upon, for example, *Pickwick*. There has never been an edited edition, and the only full-length collation of the first edition of the original 20-in-19 yellow-paper-wrapped parts in which *Vanity Fair* appeared just one hundred years ago, was made by Van Duzer in his *A Thackeray Library Collected by Henry S. Van Duzer* (New York, Privately printed, 1919). Since then cataloguers have, generally speaking, been content to follow his collation, the traditional "points" being: "First issue with the heading in rustic type on page 1, woodcut of the Marquis of Steyne on page 336, and the reading 'Mr. Pitt' later changed to 'Sir Pitt' on page 453." The presence or absence of the various inserted advertisements called for by Van Duzer is then noted, and, if the cataloguer has been particularly careful, a note on the back wrapper of Part IV states: "This set has four lines beneath the reading 'Dakin and Compy. Tea Merchants.' Van Duzer calls for three lines."

And that is all. Actually it should be far from being all. The point "Mr. Pitt" is no point at all, as this reading is common to the entire first edition and the change to "Sir Pitt" was not made until the second edition at the earliest. And while Van Duzer gave, within limits, an accurate description of his own copy, he did not compare it with others. Furthermore, though he states that he is collating what he "believes to be a perfect copy," a paragraph below that statement he admits that "in this copy the back cover of No. 4 agrees with that of No. 5 and probably was supplied." Actually, as a careful reading of his collation shows, "No 5" is a misprint for "No 3."

Aside from this and other errors, however, the Van Duzer collation is a good one, *of his copy*, and is used as the basis of the present article. But a bibliographical description of a single book is just that. It should never be made a standard by which to measure all other copies. It is only from a simultaneous examination of many copies of any book that one can arrive at even a fairly adequate standard description.

Vanity Fair in parts is a reasonably uncommon and very expensive book. We have never been able to examine more than three sets in Parts simultaneously. We have, over a decade, gathered random notes on perhaps a dozen other sets and examined numerous rebound copies and later editions. *Vanity Fair* emerges from this scrutiny as a much more bibliographically complex work than has been suspected. And though we cannot give answers to all the problems, we can present them here and hope that, once they are recognized, correct answers will eventually be forthcoming.

There are, usually, five problems connected with books issued in parts: [1] Front wrappers; [2] back wrappers; [3] inserted advertisements; [4] plates; [5] text. Usually, front wrappers present few problems, as they are dated with the month of issue and numbered, and cannot be switched from one part to another without alteration. This is not true, however, in the case of some

parts of *Vanity Fair*. Back wrappers are another and more difficult problem. If a back wrapper of one part is grafted to another part, which lacked it, a "made-up" part is the result. But unless one has a very careful collation to check against, it is difficult to determine whether the part so perfected has merely been "repaired," with the correct back put on, or whether a foreign and incorrect back wrapper has been added.

Van Duzer's collation of the back wrappers of *Vanity Fair* is incorrect in several instances.

His collation of the outside of the back wrapper of Part III is: Advertisements | Number One, Saint Paul's Churchyard. | Woodcut of St. Paul's. | Last words, "Agents wanted." Beneath the cut comes "Dakin and Compy., Tea Merchants," one line; and below, three lines, the first word of each being, "The Best Coffee" (line 1), "Coffees mellow" (line 2), and "Inferior kinds" (line 3).

His back wrapper of Part IV "agrees with No. III."

His back wrapper of Part V is as III and IV, except: "Below 'Dakin and Compy.' are four lines, three lines as in two previous numbers, but with an additional line inserted after the second reading 'good strong,' " etc.

The *inside* of all three back wrappers is the same: Advertisements | The Gentleman's Real Head of Hair; | [Last words, "Bishopsgate Street, London,"].

Very few cataloguers, however, in using this description to note that their copies were "correct according to Van Duzer" have ever read far enough (in the fine print) to note his statement that in the copy he collated "the back cover of No. 4 agrees with that of No. 5 [*sic*] and probably was supplied."

As can be seen by reading the description, "No 5" is an obvious misprint for "No 3." We are strongly inclined to believe Van Duzer's own opinion that the back wrapper of his Part IV was "supplied."

Part IV should have the additional line "Good strong, full-

flavoured coffees," etc. And examination shows that the advertisement was reset and not merely this additional line stuck in: In Part III, lines 11-12 read—"Taste then, Ye lovers of fine Coffee, and | prove its excellence"; in Parts IV-V, line 11 reads: "Taste and prove its excellence." The 13th line from the bottom, in Part III begins: "but we may say at merchants' prices"; Parts IV-V: "but AT MERCHANT'S PRICES," | etc.

The correct back wrappers of Parts IV and V are, therefore, identical, not those of Parts III and IV.

Reading Van Duzer's collation of the outside back wrappers, one gathers that the advertisement for Parts VII to XII, inclusive, is identical: Advertisements. | Number One, St. Paul's Churchyard | Woodcut St-Paul's Church. | [Last word, "London."]

This is not so. In Parts VII-X the first line below "Dakin And Compy., Tea Merchants.", reads: "Only some few years have elapsed since Dakin and Compy. founded"; in Parts XI-XII, however, this line reads: "The very best Teas that the Chinese have shipped to England for the space."

But no bibliographical harm is done here if one uses Van Duzer carefully, because he clearly lists the differences on the *inside* back wrappers *except* between Parts IX and X. For both these he gives the identical collation: Advertisements | Cheap Edition of the Novels and Tales of | Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Bart. | (Single rule) | Messrs. Chapman & Hall beg to announce that they are preparing | (last line) Only £1. 10s.

The inside back wrapper of Part X should read, however: Advertisements. | Cheap Edition of the Novels and Tales of | Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Bart. | (Double rule) | On the 30th of October, | Messrs. Chapman & Hall Will Issue | (Last line) Only £1. 10s.

Again, Van Duzer lists the advertisements on the inside back wrapper of Parts XVI and XVII as identical. They are not. Beneath the advertisement of "Parasols" on Part XVI is: "Mechi's

Razors"; Part XVII changes this to "Ladies and Gentlemen's Dressing cases." But again, if followed carefully, no harm is done as Van Duzer has correctly differentiated the outside advertisements on these parts.

So much for the back wrappers. The crucial problem occurs with the front wrappers. Van Duzer duly noted that some parts from XIII onwards lacked the brackets after the volume number and before the word "Price" at the top. He concludes: "[This] is due, I am inclined to think, to an error in the printing." This is as far as we can go, alas. Their presence or absence ties in with no other evidence we have unearthed, and may be due simply to faulty inking or any of a number of other things. We cannot explain their bibliographical significance.

Of infinitely greater importance is the fact (which Van Duzer does not note) that the last four parts, XVI to XX (XIX-XX is a double number) occur in two states, dated and undated. Furthermore the imprint in all parts but the last reads:

London:

Published At The Punch Office, 85, Fleet Street.

J. Menzies, Edinburgh; J. M'Leod, Glasgow; J. M'Glashan, Dublin

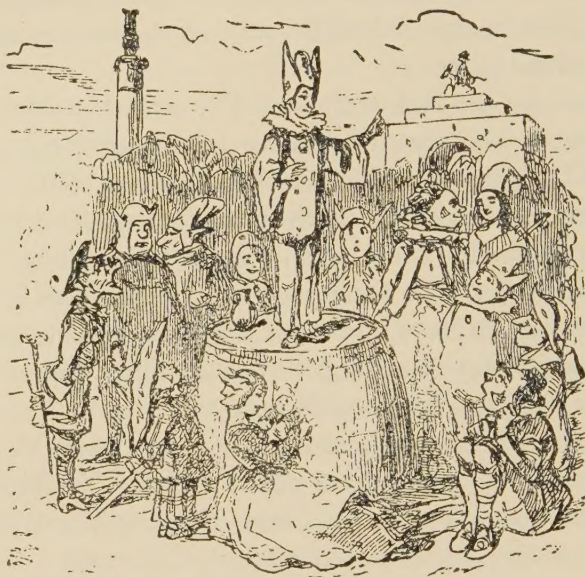
1847 [8].

On the last double number, July 1848, the name "J. M'Leod" disappears and that of Murray takes his place, his first name abbreviated to either Thos. or T. In the former case, the wrapper is dated, in the latter, undated. We find the final double part, XIX-XX, therefore, with either of the following imprints:

[A] London: | Published At The Punch Office, 85, Fleet Street. | J. Menzies, Edinburgh; Thos. Murray, Glasgow; J. M'Glashan, Dublin. | 1848.

[B] London: | Published At The Punch Office, 85, Fleet Street. | J. Menzies, Edinburgh; T. Murray, Glasgow; J. M'Glashan, Dublin.]

The discovery of this variation in the imprint led to a closer examination of the dated *vs.* undated wrappers, and we found that they were not identical except for the absence of date. On the contrary they are entirely different, as even casual measurements



VANITY FAIR:

PEN AND PENCIL SKETCHES OF ENGLISH SOCIETY.

BY W. M. THACKERAY,

Author of "The Irish Sketch Book;" "Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo" of "Jeames's Diary"
and the "Snob Papers" in Punch: &c. &c.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED AT THE PUNCH OFFICE, 85, FLEET STREET.

J. MENZIES, EDINBURGH; THOS. MURRAY, GLASGOW; J. M'GLASHAN, DUBLIN.

1848.

[Bradbury & Evans, Printers, Whitechapel.]

Courtesy of the Berg Collection, New York Public Library

The Last Part Wrapper
Dated and with Thos. Murray in Imprint



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[Bradbury & Evans, Printers, Whitefriars.]

Courtesy of the Berg Collection, New York Public Library

The Last Part Wrapper
Undated and with T. Murray in Imprint

prove. For example, the *dated* parts measure vertically, within the outer rule borders, approximately $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches; the *undated* parts, $7\frac{1}{16}$ inches. The subtitle, *Pen And Pencil Sketches Of English Society.*, in the *dated* copies measures, from the capital *P* to the final period, approximately 4 inches; in the *undated* copies, $\frac{1}{8}$ inch less. There are other differences but these measurements are sufficient for purposes of identification. (By identification, we mean the distinguishing of genuine *dated* copies from the very numerous undated copies which at one time or another have had the missing date more or less skilfully supplied, either in pen and ink or by stamping, an alteration we have noted in several rather famous copies.)

Now which of these wrappers, dated or undated, is earlier, or if they are simultaneous, we simply don't know. The evidence, such as it is, is purely negative. Recapitulating it:

[a] The only set of *Vanity Fair* we ever saw with an original subscriber's name on all front wrappers had all the wrappers dated and Thos. Murray in the imprint, with the last part dated.

[b] J. Menzies, Edinburgh; J. M'Leod, Glasgow; J. M'Glashan, Dublin, were the regular agents for Bradbury and Evans as well as other contemporary publishers and their names appear under the imprints of part issues of *Dombey and Son* (October, 1846-April, 1847). The former and latter continued as agents, when Murray replaced M'Leod, in the publication of the parts of *David Copperfield* (May, 1849 to November, 1850) and the imprint on that work is: London: Bradbury & Evans, Whitefriars. | Agents:—J. Menzies, Edinburgh; T. Murray, Glasgow; J. M'Glashan, Dublin. This identical imprint appears, also, on the parts of *Pendennis* (November, 1848-December, 1849). The imprint changed by *Bleak House* (1852-1853) to J. Menzies, Murray and Son, J. M'Glashan.

[c] Finally, we have seen numerous copies of the undated wrappers with the date faked in; we have never seen a genuine wrapper with the date removed.

It seems likely, therefore, that when Murray replaced M'Leod, his name appeared for the first time on the cover of the last number of *Vanity Fair* as "Thos. Murray," that for some reason this was changed in later printings of the wrappers (perhaps to conform with the other agents who used their given initial letter only) to "T. Murray," which it remained on various later part issues, until it became "Murray and Son." At any rate "Thos. Murray" appears only on the dated front wrapper of the last part of *Vanity Fair*. Regarding Parts XVI-XVIII, which come both dated and undated, as recorded above, we can only state that on very numerous undated wrappers we have noted the dates supplied. We have never noted a dated part with the date removed. Furthermore, the only late reprint of *Vanity Fair*, in wrappers, we ever examined (all back wrappers plain and without any advertisements on the verso of the front wrapper), had all parts undated and, of course, T. Murray in the imprint. This set had, unfortunately, been rebound; wrappers bound in.

While, in our opinion, it would be a bold bibliographer who plunked for the priority of the dated parts, it would be an infinitely bolder one who took the opposite view. "Data" are needed.

We have no quarrel with Van Duzer's listing of the inserted advertisements, front and back. We have noted certain differences, true enough, but they seem bibliographically unimportant. He calls, for example, for eight unnumbered pages of advertisements "on green paper" at back of Part I. They also occur on peach paper. The two-page advertisement of "Chambers' Edinburgh Journal," also back of Part I, occurs with or without an asterisk at the lower right hand corner. Part VIII has been noted with a two-leaf, 16mo, inset, advertising the "Equity and Law Life Assurance Society," not mentioned by him. The eight pages of advertisements at the back of Part XVI are described as "on white paper." They have also been noted on yellow, etc. But no bibliographical significance attaches to these slight variations, that we have discovered.

In the description of the Ida Folsom copy, sold December 6, 1932, it was stated that "the plates in this copy are all in their first state, as executed by Thackeray (many of the plates were re-worked in later issues)." This is the only intimation we have seen in print claiming variant states of the plates of *Vanity Fair*. They may exist, but if so we have never spotted them.

There are differences between the readings on the printed title-page of the first edition and later editions, as well as in the imprint on the verso of the title-page and in the Dedication leaf. When these changes were made, we do not at present know. All untouched sets in parts we have seen have the *A* readings. It is probable that these variant readings do not differentiate states or issues, but merely editions. But as at least two sets in parts have been noted with the *B* readings *inserted*, we give them for the record.

Printed title-page, 5th line:

- [A] With Illustrations On Steel And Wood By The Author.
- [B] With Illustrations On Wood And Steel By The Author.

Printed title-page, verso, imprint:

- [A] London: | Bradbury And Evans, Printers, Whitefriars.
- [B] London: | Bradbury And Evans, 11 Bouverie Street.

Dedication leaf:

- [A] Set in small type (last line measures $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches).
- [B] Set in large type (last line measures $2\frac{9}{16}$ inches).

It should be noted that the imprint on the part issue of *Pendennis* (November, 1848-December, 1849) is as *B*: London: | Bradbury And Evans, 11 Bouverie Street.

It has been reported that some copies of Part I are known with the pagination up to page 16 having the numerals recognizably larger than those of pages 17-32. Also, that copies have been noted without any pagination at all, or running headlines, pages 8-16. And also that the rustic type heading, *Vanity Fair*, page (1) occurs in two states, heavily shaded or lightly shaded.

We are unable to comment on these variants, as we have never seen them, but report their presumed existence for the record.

It is true, however, that there are two different states of the text of Part I, the simplest differentiation being that the first has 19 lines of text on page 20, the second (and all succeeding editions), 20.

So much for some of the problems facing the bibliographer of *Vanity Fair*. What about those concerning the editor (some of which will concern the bibliographer also)?

Thackeray was a meticulous artist and constantly strove to correct textual errors. *Vanity Fair* was not stereotyped, and early editions were printed from the same type setting. We give below the textual changes found while checking the part issues against a later (1849) edition in book form. Many of these changes were probably not made in the part issue at all, and are thus void of bibliographical (though not editorial) significance. Primarily because of the numerous "made-up" copies which occur, however, it seems best to give the entire list of the changes we have found. Where we have noted *both* the early and later readings occurring in untouched sets in parts, such readings are preceded by an asterisk. We would appreciate reports on the text of other sets in parts, because it is only by collating as many as possible that the bibliographical significance of these changes to the various issues, states or editions of *Vanity Fair* can eventually be established.

The following list is therefore to all intents and purposes an *Errata* to the first edition of *Vanity Fair*, *some* of the corrections appearing in *some* of the parts and *all* the corrections appearing in late editions.

VANITY FAIR TEXTUAL VARIATIONS

PAGE	LINE	FIRST EDITION, PARTS	LATER EDITION
8	17	only fifty years	five and fifty years
13	last line	Horse Guards	Life Guards
15	14	no harm trying	no harm in trying
24	6 (from bottom)	Send to 26	Send to 96
28	8	off his howdah	off his seat
*29		19 lines of text	20 lines of text
30	5	cottage hearth	cottage roof

PAGE	LINE	FIRST EDITION, PARTS	LATER EDITION
40	10-11	And what can Alderman Dobbin have amongst fourteen?	(Not included)
45	4	Devonshire House	D—— House
45	19	Oh, Devonshire	Oh, D——
50	11 (from bottom)	this fat bacchanalian	Mr. Jos Sedley
52	33-34	Doctor Glauber	Doctor Gollop
53	19	Glauber	Gollop
55	14	Pinner, they're neither one thing nor t'other	Pinner, she remarked to the maid
58	1-2	Barebones Crawley's son	Barebones Crawley, son of
58	7 (from bottom)	Shiverly Square	Gaunt Square
60	2	<i>I</i> be Sir Pitt	I'm Sir Pitt
61	31	the orphan	the baronet
62	9	noise of innocence	Nose of innocence
63	7 (from bottom)	What is the road	Where is the road
*66	36	Leakington	Mudbury
*66	5 (from bottom)	Leakington	Mudbury
*75	29	Muttondown's	Southdown's
*77	26-27	fortune equally between	inheritance between
*83	11	as Cornet and Lieutenant Crawley	in the Life Guards Green
*92	4	Petty Crawley	Rawdon Crawley
*94	30	Rincer	Bowls
97	24	gift of	knack of
99	6 (from bottom)	it's not much . . . There's	it is not much . . . There is
101	last	sang to Heaven	sang <i>Te Deum</i>
108	30	carpenter	weaver
109	35	Maria	Jane
110	18	Maria	Jane
*116	32	Fisher	Firkin
*129	last	siad	said
149	23	Young Cornet and Lieu- tenant	And young Lieutenant
*152	33	honest, kind hand	trembling hand
152	36	kind heart	sad heart
153	3	good mother	old mother
153	25	good old John	old John
154	1	good kindly old	humiliated old
156	11 (from bottom)	Miss A. asked	Miss Ann asked
*156	last	improved British	uproused British

PAGE	LINE	FIRST EDITION, PARTS	LATER EDITION
165	22	all the particulars she could	sundry strange particulars
*188	26	Old Osborne	Old Sedley
188	32	old Mrs. Osborne	old Mrs. Sedley
191	15	found here	found there
202	35	stately	state
227	16	kind mother	kind parents
232	15	friends	friend
*236	25	Flanagan's	Flanahan's
236	27	Major-General	Mejor-General
242	11	this idea	the idea
*244	3 (from bottom)	soldier	orderly
247	37	this company	this society
*252	last	get	gain
*254	9	shall	shawl
*280	32	her carriage	their carriage
280	4 (from bottom)	Captain Crawley had	Captain Crawley's horses had
289	20	be Captain and Lieutenant-Colonel	be Lieutenant-Colonel
293	11	having given up all ideas	having but faint ideas
*293	19	and report says was once attached	and was secretly attached
*294	4 (from bottom)	to the Grand Duchess	to H.H. the Duchess
*295	7	worldty	worldly
296	4 (from bottom)	worldty	worldly
328	29	After a stay at Brussels where they lived in good fashion, with carriages and horses, and giving pretty little dinners at their hotel, the Colonel and his lady again quitted that city, from which slander pursued them as it did from Paris, and where it is said they left a vast amount of debt behind them. Indeed this is the way in which gentlemen who live upon nothing a-year, make both ends meet.	(Not included)

PAGE	LINE	FIRST EDITION, PARTS	LATER EDITION
*328	35	From Brussels, Colonel	And so, Colonel (p. 328, 1.29)
331	3 (from bottom)	salon	salons
*333	37	Lady Susan's	Lady Jane's
336		Woodcut, Marquis of Steyne	No woodcut
338	19	at his Father	at his father (1.39)
405	18	sneaked	bolted
405	6-5 (from bottom)	Hunters arrived from time to time, in charge of boys of the boy Jack species	(Not included)
405	5 (from bottom)	the young gentlemen	Many young gentlemen
406	13	Will blows	Tom blows
*(Sometimes unnumbered)			numbered
*434	last	gaunt's tired of	gaunts' tired
453	31	Mr. Pitt	Mr. Pitt (when changed to Sir Pitt?)
481	last	read comments	made comments
*482	36	beating a tattoo	beating a tune
*499	10	a ——— fool	a d——— fool
500	36	Lady Macbeth	Lady Southdown
*502	3 (from bottom)	in his pompous manner	in pompous orations
503	9 " "	leaving his affairs	he left his affairs
505	7	as to his mother	(Not included)
505	8	to her	to his mother
*510	19	miserable old	faded old
517	27	youngster	youngsters
521	24	that perennially	which perennially
523	9	Ten years	Long years
536	3	an harsh	a harsh
536	27	cot; Miss Clapp	cot as Miss Clapp
543	7	Indian dandy	Indian dandies
550	8 (from bottom)	was affected	was pleased
*555	3 " "	Mr. Hollyock	Mrs. Hollyock
571	6 " "	Elephant	Pariser Hof
579	7-8	certain debts and the insurance of his life	certain outstanding debts and liabilities
579	17	make	take
580	5 (from bottom)	Colonel Hornby	Colonel Horner
587	4 " "	at his Lordship's side	near his lordship

PAGE	LINE	FIRST EDITION, PARTS	LATER EDITION
588	32	Mr. Fenouil	Mr. Fiche
588	40	Monsieur Fenouil	Monsieur Fiche
589	1	" "	" "
589	21	in the cushions	on the cushions
589	29	Monsieur Fenouil	Monsieur Fiche
589	33	" "	" "
589	35	Baron Finelli	Baron Ficci
590	2	Grey Friars	White Friars
590	20	Monsieur Fenouil	Monsieur Fiche
592	1	sonorous	<i>sournois</i>
592	3 (from bottom)	No. 94	No. 90
598	1-2	such as	like
601	7 (from bottom)	seemed to be caught in the little Circe's toils too, and	also was caught in the little Circe's toils, and
601	6 " "	might have	certainly
602	4	William, he was	William, was
604	8	besought Jos eagerly to	besought Mr. Sedley to
605	12 (from bottom)	hearing —	hearing the tale.
605	7 " "	Mrs. Sedley	Mr. Sedley
617	28	Captain Rook	and Captain Rook
617	29	at the Dyke	on the Dyke
623	11 (from bottom)	invited	They invited
623	10 " "	declared	they declared

The Home Library*

By GEORGE T. GOODSPEED

OF the several series or "libraries" of popular books offered by American publishers in the nineteenth century, one of the most conspicuous is Wiley and Putnam's *Library of American Books*. In its day it was a novelty, for the books in the series were original works, with royalties paid to the authors. *Harper's Family Library* was, it is true, earlier, and considerably greater in bulk, but it was for the most part made up of reprints, and few of its titles were in the field of *belles lettres*. *The Library of American Books*, on the other hand, introduced to the American reader major books by Hawthorne, Poe and Melville.

Its modestly designed volumes were issued in wrappers and in cloth. Prominently displayed on each front wrapper was a quotation from the *Address of the American Copyright Club*.

On the twenty-third of August, 1843, a group of literati including Evert A. Duyckinck, Cornelius Mathews, and William Cullen Bryant met at the Athenaeum Hotel in New York for the purpose of organizing a society "to procure the enactment of such law or laws as shall place the literary relations of the United States and foreign countries, in reference to copyright, on just, proper, and equitable grounds."¹

The question of international copyright was first brought to the attention of the American public at the time of Dickens's visit to this country in 1842, and Cornelius Mathews had dwelt on it

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 23, 1948.

¹ *An Address to the People of the United States in Behalf of the American Copyright Club* (New York, 1843).

in his address at the Dickens dinner in New York.² In September of the same year *Graham's Magazine* printed Mathews's *Appeal to American Authors and the American Press in behalf of an International Copyright*, and Wiley and Putnam printed the *Appeal* separately as a pamphlet.³ There are numerous references to the subject in Mathews's correspondence with Elizabeth Barrett, whom he and Duyckinck had introduced to American readers.

Perhaps because Mathews's popularity with his fellow-writers was not very considerable, his motives were openly questioned. Lowell was especially outspoken.⁴ Duyckinck, with whom Mathews had edited the short-lived, though highly regarded *Arcturus*, was, however, well esteemed, and his concern about the international copyright situation, while not so often put into print, was still great,⁵ as numerous passages in his diary indicate. He reports, after a visit to Harper's: "The present system of publishing they confessed was an exclusion of American authors. They had a novel of Fay which they could not publish at the old rates, for nobody would pay for it and which would pay the author nothing if published at the new." And about the same time, he notes: "Dickens new book 'Martin Chuzzlewit' published today over all the town by the Harpers for three cents and the New World with a batch of the other serials for a shilling."⁶ Both Mathews and Duyckinck were, moreover, vigorous champions of a national literature.

The Copyright Club was born auspiciously. According to previous arrangement, Bryant was chosen President.⁶ Among the charter members were Parke Godwin, H. J. Raymond, John

² *A Speech on International Copyright, Delivered at the Dinner to Charles Dickens* (New York, 1842).

³ *An Appeal to American Authors and the American Press, in behalf of International Copyright* (New York, 1842).

⁴ James Russell Lowell, *A Fable for Critics* (New York, G. P. Putnam, 1848), pp. 22-23.

⁵ Duyckinck papers, especially E. A. Duyckinck's diaries, in New York Public Library.

⁶ Evert Augustus Duyckinck, Ms. diary in New York Public Library.

Keese, Wesley Harper, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Francis L. Hawks, John Jay, Edwin Forrest and Charles F. Hoffman. There was an impressive roster of "Associate Members" which included virtually all the leading authors of the day.

Bryant, Hawks and Mathews were appointed a committee to prepare an *Address*, which was adopted on October 18. It is signed by them in that order and for this reason, I suppose, has been attributed to Bryant,⁷ but the order of the names may have been purely alphabetical; and it may be the work of Mathews or, indeed, a true collaboration.

The address is an interesting contribution to publishing history. It commences with a discussion of the moral aspects of piracy, but the protection of American letters from cheap foreign competition is clearly a primary consideration. The writer suggests that the British "now promise themselves, in the next generation of Americans . . . a restored dominion, which their arms were not able to keep. The pamphlet will carry the day where the soldier fell back."

Publishers, the *Address* complains, are foisting every sort of catchpenny literature on the public:

Certain books of a noxious character being found to hit the appetite of certain readers, others, of a broader stamp, in a like vein, have been produced from foreign tongues, and distributed by the thousand and ten thousand. The foreign supply coming short, native writers, of an easy conscience, have been put in training, to try themselves upon whatever is coarsest and vilest. . . . Every landmark and barrier separating good from bad literature has broken down, and a race of the trashiest publications in style, in matter, in type and looks, that the slime of cities ever bred, has swarmed from every quarter.

Besides, the livelihood of American authors was threatened, and the craft faced extinction. The public, being accustomed to buying its reading cheaply, must be supplied with books foreign and domestic "at a price which will satisfy the just demands of

⁷ Patrick Kevin Foley, *American Authors, 1795-1895* (Boston, Printed for Subscribers [The Publishers' Printing Co.], 1897); Henry C. Sturges, *Chronologies of the Life and Writings of William Cullen Bryant* (New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1903).

THE HOME LIBRARY,

EDITED BY

EVERT A. DUYCKINCK

THE SUBSCRIBER proposes to issue under this title,—as centering in Home, and drawing towards it their free, hopeful, manly spirit,—a series of select publications adapted to the best interests of the country. They will be chosen both for their classic merit and their popular character, and will embrace the most varied range of Literature. The plan will include COPYRIGHT WORKS OF AMERICAN AUTHORS, and *new works of English writers, to be published by mutual arrangement with them and for their benefit*.

Whenever necessary the works will be accompanied by original Prefaces, and there will be published, from time to time, original Numbers of Criticism, Observation, &c., contributed by various writers.

The Home Library will be published in a superior *book form*, in a handsome library edition, in single column, in clear, legible type, the Prose series in small 8vo. and the Poetical in 18mo., in convenient numbers, at 12½ and 25 cents each. Title pages will, from time to time, be given with reference to a suitable arrangement in volumes.

There are in active preparation the following, among other works: *Letters from Italy*, by J. T. HEADLEY.—*The Mocking Bird, and other Poems*, by W. GILMORE SIMMS.—*Literary Miscellanies*, by W. A. JONES.—*A Volume of Poems*, by ALFRED B. STREET.—*A Series of Literary and Philosophical Portraits of Public Characters*.—*A new volume of Poems*, by ELIZABETH B. BARRETT, of England.

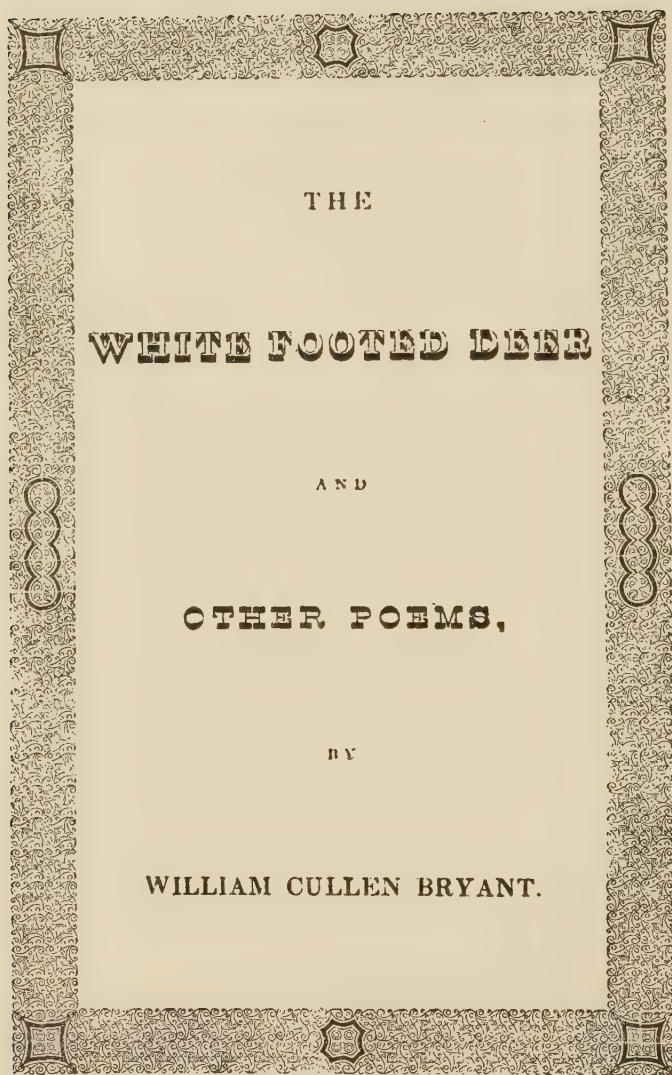
The Poetical series will commence with *The White-footed Deer, and other Poems*, by WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, Esq.

ITALY AND THE ITALIANS, by J. T. HEADLEY, No. 1 of the Prose series is now ready at all the book-stores and periodical agencies, price 12½ cents.

I. S. PLATT, *Publisher*,

111 Fulton street, New York

BACK WRAPPER OF COPY A



FRONT WRAPPER OF COPY B

THE HOME LIBRARY.

POETICAL SERIES.—NO. I.

THE

WHITE-FOOTED DEER

AND

OTHER POEMS.

BY

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

NEW YORK:

L. S. PLATT, 111 FULTON STREET

PRESS OF THE HOME LIBRARY

1844.

FRONT WRAPPER OF COPY A

the author, and the rightful expectations of the reader.”

The answer, of course, was mass production. It was Duyckinck who, with Bryant's coöperation, made the experiment. On March 30, 1844,⁸ there appeared over the imprint of I. S. Platt, two pamphlets, the first of a projected series to be known as *The Home Library*, edited by E. A. Duyckinck. There were to be a Poetical and a Prose Series, each number priced at twelve and a half cents. No. 1 of the Poetical Series was Bryant's *The White-Footed Deer and Other Poems*. The prose series began with J. T. Headley's *Italy and the Italians*.

The publisher, according to his advertisement on the back wrapper of each pamphlet, proposed “to issue under this title, as centering in the home, and drawing towards it their free, hopeful, manly spirit,—a series of select publications adapted to the best interests of the country. . . . The plan will include COPYRIGHT WORKS OF AMERICAN AUTHORS, and *new works of English writers, to be published by mutual arrangement with them and for their benefit.*” Among the works in preparation were Headley's *Letters from Italy*, *The Mocking Bird and Other Poems* by W. G. Simms, and “A New Volume of Poems by Elizabeth B. Barrett of England,” the latter, of course, to be secured through the good offices of Mathews, who had already undertaken to arrange for the American edition of *A Drama of Exile*.⁹ General title-pages were to be issued from time to time so that the pamphlets might be bound in volumes for permanency.

The White-Footed Deer is today a relatively uncommon book, though hardly the great rarity it was once thought to be, and the Headley pamphlet is even scarcer. From this circumstance, and since no other titles in the series were forthcoming, we may assume that the number of copies sold was small.

I have located twelve copies of *The White-Footed Deer*. Ten¹⁰

⁸ *The New York Tribune* (March 30, 1844).

⁹ *The Collector* (New York), V: 6 (February, 1892).

¹⁰ CtY, MB, MWA, MWiC, MiU, NN (3 copies), RPB, Private collection. There are others, of course.

of them are 18mos measuring, untrimmed, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ inches, and collate as follows:

[i-ii] Blank; [iii] half-title; [iv] Blank; [v] title-page; [vi] copyright and printer's imprint; [vii] Contents; [viii] Advertisement; Text, pp. [1]-24; [25] Notes; [26] Blank; [27-28] Blank. Signatures: [1]-2-[3]⁶. Issued in brown paper wrappers. On the front wrapper: *The Home Library. / Poetical Series.— No. 1 / [Wavy rule] / The White-Footed Deer / and / other Poems. / By / William Cullen Bryant. / New York: / I. S. Platt, 111 Fulton Street, / Press of the Home Library / [Rule] / 1844.* [The above enclosed in a double rule border.] Publisher's advertisement on back wrapper.

The other two copies¹¹ measure, trimmed, $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and collate:

[i] half-title; [ii] Blank; [iii] Title-page; [iv] Blank; [v] Advertisement; [vi] Blank; Text, pp. [1]-24; [25] Notes; [26] Blank.

Signatures [1]-2⁶, [3]⁴. The last leaf of sig. [1] is signed 2, the second leaf of sig. 2 is signed 2*. These appear on the same *page*, in each case, as they do in the issue previously described.

Bound in yellow wrappers: On the front wrapper: *The / White-Footed Deer / and / Other Poems, / By / William Cullen Bryant.* [The above enclosed in an elaborate typographical border.] The back wrapper is blank.

The final letter "t" p. 24, line 7 has dropped out. (This is present and perfect in all copies of the other issue that I have seen.)

One of these two copies contains a pencilled inscription "to Mrs. M. F. Hopkins from F. F. Bryant" (presumably Mrs. Bryant; her initials were F. F.).

The principal differences between the two issues are, therefore, these: The first, which we shall call A, is on smaller paper; it has a copyright notice and printer's imprint on the verso of the title, this page being blank in B; the leaf following the title is the table of contents, with author's Advertisement on verso, whereas in B the Advertisement is on the recto of this leaf, the verso being blank. A has the words "Home Library" with publisher's imprint on front wrapper, and publisher's advertisements on the back wrapper. In B the back wrapper is blank. A is an 18mo

¹¹ MBAt, private collection.

(and signed accordingly) while B, though signed precisely like A, is differently imposed, so that the signature marks come on the wrong pages. Further, they cannot have been printed from the same imposition. The inner margins of B are consistently wider than those of A.

Which was printed first? I shall not attempt to say, but I suggest that to delete a copyright notice which has already been set up, and to eliminate a table of contents, is hardly a natural procedure. An omitted copyright and an omitted contents suggest that these most important features had not yet been composed.

On the other hand, it may properly be contended, one does not sign a book for one imposing, proceed to impose it quite differently, print some copies, and finally reimpose it in accordance with the original plan.

There is one solution of the dilemma which is possible. Suppose the pamphlet planned, and signed, as an 18mo. Before the pages are locked up, a few copies are pulled, as folios, two pages at a time. These are hardly more than proofs printed by hand. Perhaps, as they were put on the press, that "t" on p. 24 dropped out, and was replaced after the proofs were taken. Then, before the published edition is printed (or stereotyped) the pages can be properly imposed for the regular edition, and printed. Perhaps this is not the answer, but it is the least improbable solution I have been able to find.

Well, the Home Library filled few shelves. But in the following year there was published by Wiley and Putnam, No. 1 of *The Library of American Authors* edited by Evert A. Duyckinck, Recording Secretary of the American Copyright Club, and erstwhile editor of *The Home Library*. No. 3 was Headley's *Letters from Italy*, an expansion of *Italy and the Italians*. The enterprise which launched *Mosses from an Old Manse*, *Typee*, and *The Raven* was under way.

Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Bookbindings

An Historical Study

By HAZEL DREIS

THE craft of the binding of books is a phase of American cultural history about which knowledge is imperfect. Imprints on early books have given us names and locations of printers, but the binders are on the whole quite unknown. Many of the Colonial printers no doubt had binderies in connection with their print shops staffed by binders from Europe. The American work I have seen leads me to believe that these binders came largely from England and Scotland. There are books in bindings known to have belonged to our pioneers, and some of these bindings were undoubtedly done in America. Historical studies have up to the present been concerned with design schemes and gold tooling rather than with the binding craft.

Through the kindness of Mr. H. B. Anstaett, Librarian of the Fackenthal Library of Franklin and Marshall College, and of Mr. Henry K. Landis, of the Landis Valley Museum, of Lancaster, I have been able to make an extensive examination of Lancaster books in these institutions. Several aspects of the technique of these binders make it exceptional.

Bookmaking in Lancaster Valley stems from the Ephrata Cloister founded by Conrad Beissel, a native of Oberbach, in the Palatinate, Germany. Beissel came to America about 1719 with the First Day German Baptists, who are one of the groups known as Dunkers. In 1725 Beissel found what he considered an error in the Dunker faith concerning the observance of Sunday, the first day, instead of Saturday, the seventh day, as the Sabbath.

He left the Dunker congregation and settled, fourteen miles from Lancaster, on the Cocalico River where he was joined by other members of the congregation who accepted his doctrine. Within the following ten years a small community was built up on communistic principles and monastic life. This community became known as the Ephrata Congregation and finally as the Ephrata Cloister. Conrad Beissel remained head of the Cloister for nearly fifty years. He died July 6, 1768.

A printing shop was one of the first ventures of the new group. This involved the establishment of a paper mill for the manufacture of hand-made paper, a tannery to provide leather for bindings, and an oil mill to crush flax seed to provide oil for the making of ink. Machinery for the enterprise was imported from Germany. Two of the German hand presses of the Cloister are preserved: one in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia; the other in the Ford Museum, Dearborn, Michigan. The books from the Ephrata Press were mainly religious and supplied the demands of the growing religious communities in Lancaster County.

I have been unable to establish the exact date of the founding of the Cloister Press. Lottie M. Bausman,¹ in her bibliography of Lancaster County books, lists ten items issued by this press in 1745. From such an output we may infer a fairly large and well equipped shop at this date. The bindery in charge of Samuel Ecklinger was considered the best equipped shop in the colonies. Israel Ecklinger, brother of Samuel, was one of the editors in charge of selecting work to be printed.

The Sauer Newspaper, February 16, 1743, announced that both bound and unbound copies of the Bible were for sale by the Cloister through Samuel Ecklinger, the bookbinder. This tie-up between the Sauer Press and the Cloister Press is one of the elements which has confused some students of the bindings of the

¹ *A Bibliography of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1917).

Cloister. Christopher Sauer, the elder, was a member of the Cloister, and the monks supplied paper to the Sauer print shop in Germantown. It is also certain that they bound some of the Sauer books. They did not bind all of them, and the Germantown work is easy to distinguish from the work of the Cloister.

From the standpoint of good paper-making and good printing the work of the Cloister was poor. Certainly the zeal of the monks was far in excess of their ability. In my opinion, Cloister books are even worse than most eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century printing. The paper is rough, and all that I have seen is browned by age to a much greater extent than I should have expected, although it still remains fairly firm. The ink produced by the monks was poor. In contrast to the work produced in the other book-manufacturing departments of the Cloister, the binding was good. The tannery produced good leather and some of the best preserved books of this period that I have seen were bound at the Ephrata Cloister.

In April 1744 Samuel Ecklinger became dissatisfied with life in Ephrata. Some accounts say that as a result he was expelled, but others relate that he left of his own accord. It is certain that he departed together with his brother Israel. The only information I have about them is that they went west. The bindery remained an active part of the Cloister. In the *New Non-Partisan Lancaster Paper and Advertising Directory*, of September 7, 1792, Solomon Meyer advertised for a bookbinder for the Dunker Cloister, Ephrata.

The town of Lancaster had a population of some two thousand by the middle of the eighteenth century, and was one of the most prosperous little cities in Pennsylvania. Many business firms were attracted to this community which was enriched by an efficient and frugal farmer population. James Chalten established a press in 1751, and in 1752 issued his first book, a small religious tract in German.

Tanners in Lancaster were active. In the November 3, 1791

issue of the Lancaster paper Emanuel Reigart advertised that he had leather for sale and offered to buy hides.

The Ryttinghauser family, who in 1690 had established a hand-made-paper mill on the banks of the Wissahicken River, had Americanized their name to Rittenhouse. At the close of the eighteenth century William Rittenhouse was supplying paper to Lancaster printers. The clover leaf and crown water mark of this firm appears frequently in books printed in Lancaster.

The great majority of books issued in Lancaster County were for religious use. They comprise songbooks and religious exhortation, instruction and history in the German language. They are mainly small books, 12mo and 16mo in size. Such a size would be convenient for a reader who desired to carry the book in his pocket to meeting. Folios, quartos and other sizes were of course manufactured, but the little book was the most common.

I have been especially interested in the small book. In the Landis Valley Museum there are numerous duplicates. I had an opportunity to study many copies of the same book and to discover the distinctive features of the technique of the binders. With a few exceptions, the books I have examined are in a remarkable state of preservation. The leather on some of the bindings is in almost perfect condition, and the bindings themselves are as sound as on the day they left the shop. They present a unique interest as they are "in place," never having been moved more than a few miles from the shops which manufactured them. With the exception of the Sauer imprints, the books under discussion are the work of Lancaster Valley printers and binders, and are from the town of Lancaster and from the nearby Cloister of Ephrata.

Identical binding craft traditions prevailed in this community for nearly one hundred years—from around 1730 to 1820—and although the work is from the shops of several binders the practices do not differ. These practices were peculiar, as far as I can determine, to this community of the "plain people." I have not

seen this type of work on early American bindings from other districts. That they were good practices, the condition of the books bears witness.

A puzzling feature of the technique is that it seems to follow the Swiss, rather than the German tradition.² This leads me to believe that the original craftsman, who taught the young workmen and set the standards, must have been trained in Switzerland. I cannot verify this by documentary evidence, but the craft evidence is definite.

The books I have examined in Lancaster are all bound in calf browned by age. Some of them show an effort at simple decoration by mottling the leather. Pasteboard was not generally used. The bindings have extremely thin wooden boards. They are almost as thin as the outside board used in making veneer. I found none of the boards broken and few of them damaged. Nearly all the books have one, and a few two clasps, most of them intact. The clasps fasten on the upper cover.

An exception to the use of thin boards is on a copy of Tielman Jana van Bracht's *Der Blutige Shaw-Platz: oder Martyer Spiegel* translated by Johann Peter Miller, a member of the Cloister, and printed in Lancaster by Joseph Ehrenfried in 1814. The book is sewn on six linen cords with linen thread and has fairly heavy pasteboard covers. It is rounded but does not seem to have a hinge.³ There is an imperfect groove made by the pressure of the

² In *The Colonial Printer* (Portland, Maine, The Southworth Press, 1938, second edition, revised and enlarged), p. 211, Lawrence Wroth thus described Ephrata Cloister binding: "The style of binding employed in the Cloister was the heavy, substantial covering of the German book with which the brothers were familiar as an ancestral heritage. The materials employed were calf or sheep stretched over heavy, hand split oaken boards, equipped with well-wrought brass corners and clasped with sturdy brass clasps. Brass-studded loops at top and bottom of the heavier volumes offered a purchase for the hand in taking them from the shelf. They are without lettering and decorated only with blind-tooled designs, but solid, dependable, and well-fashioned in the manner one would expect from craftsmen of the German tradition, unlike any other bindings made in the three Americas."

My own observations differ from Mr. Wroth's statements.

³ For the benefit of those readers who are not professional bookbinders I am appending here some craft terms:

Back. The back of the book is that portion visible as the book stands on the shelf.

boards throughout the years. A peculiar tape was used instead of worked headbands. This tape had no stiffening material, and gave the binder nothing solid over which to set a cap. The book is covered with calf. It has no title, no decoration, and no clasps. The workmanship is careful but clumsy. The volume opens well and is in splendid condition. I do not know the binder's name, but I have seen other work of his on books printed in Lancaster.

Sometimes called the shelf back or spine. When a book is rebacked it has been mended, usually by placing new material under the original leather.

Cap. The cap is the leather at the head and tail of the book over the head bands and up to the book boards. Setting the cap is the operation of turning the leather over the headband and making a neat and attractive piece of work at this place on the binding.

Cord. The lengths of material around which the sections of the book have been sewn as they appear on the back of the book. The term is strictly applied to the raised portions that are visible. Sometimes booksellers call the cords "bands." See definition of "slip."

Groove. The turned over sections of the back of the book to accommodate the board with which the book is bound. The groove is as deep as the board is thick, and forms a hinge for the cover which relieves the strain on the leather and enables the covers to move more freely when the book is opened and closed.

Headband. The headband is material, usually stiff, sewn onto the book at the head and tail. This is as high as the square of the book and fills in the space at the back of the book between the cover boards. It is usually sewn with two threads which make a bead at the portion next to the book.

Hinge. See *Groove*.

Lacing in. Most binders punch or drill holes in the cover boards through which the cords of the book, called slips, are drawn to attach the cover board of the book to the book. Various methods are used to do this work.

Line, lined, lining. Most binders paste a piece or pieces of paper between the cords on the back of the book. This lining paper is sanded smooth and the leather is pasted directly to it. In early books vellum strips were used for this purpose.

Slip. The slip is that portion of the material on which the book sections are sewn which is left when the book is cut from the sewing press. It is left long enough to enable the binder to handle it easily when lacing it through the holes in the cover boards. After the book is laced in, the ends of the slips are cut off.

Square. The square of the book is that portion of the cover board extending beyond the body of the book at the head, tail and fore-edge. The term is also used in its usual meaning regarding the body of the book. A square book is one which has perfect right angles.

Tying up. A careful binder ties up his book immediately after covering with leather. Special boards are made for this purpose, and the tying up cords are passed over the back of the book against the cords and on both sides of the cords. The book usually remains tied up until the leather is dry. This operation insures the leather adhering tightly to the back of the book and also improves the appearance. Usually the binder pats and works with the wet leather to stretch it well over the cords. This operation is called working up the leather, and it is after this operation that the book is tied up.

With the exception of this book, all the books of which I speak were bound with the beautifully thin wooden boards. Tape for headbands seems to have been used as a regular practice and I saw none of these bindings with hand worked headbands. Consequently no caps were set on any of the books. The workmanship has an even tone of care and competence. The books are square, open well and have not been unduly cut down. Some of the covers have simple bosses and a few carry blind lines, but with one exception none of them has ornaments nor are any of them titled. The clasps used are simple and always fasten on the upper cover. One of the binders must have owned a roll for gold tooling, as one of the books has a gold line and a small gold flower. Probably the religious beliefs of the community rather than the inability of the binders to secure gilding tools were the cause of the lack of decoration.

One of the books in the Landis Valley Museum, printed at the Cloister in 1762 and undoubtedly bound there, is in bad condition. It seems to have suffered an accident of some sort. I was able to examine the workmanship and the binding practices. It is sewn on four linen cords. Sewing on four cords seems to be one of the features of the work of the Cloister bindery. The slips were left about two inches long, and were frayed out and pasted firmly to the cover. None of the bindings seems to have the covers laced onto the book, the usual binding practice. The back was heavily lined with paper in one piece from head to tail, and not between the cords as is usual. This heavy lining paper over the cords on the back of the book made it impossible to work up the leather around the cords and the use of this method results in a rather clumsy and unfinished appearance. The headband is made of tape. The squares of the book are small, but the work is so solid and well done that the book has not moved out of its covers. It opens well.

Many of the books have white end-sheets, usually of the same stock as used in the book, and some of them are conjugate with

leaves of the first signature, blanks having been left for the binder by the printer. This is a rather unusual practice. One small German songbook printed in Lancaster in 1774 has a decorated end-sheet of a small flower, stems and leaves. The paper is put in the book upside down.

While no effort seems to have been made to work the leather neatly around the cords on the back of the book, some of the books were tied up when covered, for marks of the cord used in tying up can be seen on the covers.

When the Cloister binders were called upon to bind larger books they used much the same methods as on the smaller volumes, but an effort was made to ensure greater strength. No titles seem to have been used, and no ornament. In the Library of Congress there is a copy of *Der Blutige Schau-platz*, a folio, printed at the Cloister in 1748 and without doubt bound there. It is in bad condition, and about forty or fifty years ago was rebacked with canvas and glue. These later materials have, of course, decayed. It is strongly sewn on five heavy linen cords and covered with calf. There is a sewn headband on this volume, the only one I have seen on a Cloister book. This headband is made of red and natural colored thread and has been well sewn onto the book. It is a beautifully worked headband, round with heavy beading in much the same style as many continental books of the early eighteenth century. The wooden boards are fairly heavy and are laced onto the book. The leather has no ornament, and the book is untitled. The bosses, not too heavy, are nicely designed. The clasps fasten on the upper cover, continental style. It is the nearest to German work I have seen, but having lighter boards, no decoration and adequate but not heavy clasps, it lacks a number of typically German features. It might have been bound by a German binder working at the Cloister who made an effort to adapt his work as nearly as possible to Cloister standards.

The Chronicon Ephratense, a quarto in the Library of Congress, is in frightfully bad condition, but enough remains of the origi-

nal work to determine the methods used. It is a quarter-bound of sheep over rough pulp boards. The back seems not to have been lined with paper. As far as I could see the leather was attached directly to the back of the book. It was sewn on four linen cords, and the leather over the cords was roughly worked up. A great deal cannot be determined about the original cover, as at a later date the sides have been covered with a pinkish paper. There is no ornament and no title. This is like no other binding possibly from the Cloister that I have seen. It is a poor binding and an inferior piece of leather. I cannot say that it was not done at the Cloister, but the use of the pasteboard and the poor craftsmanship generally make me doubt that it was bound there. The Cloister sheep of this period with which I am familiar is of a much better quality.

In the Library of Congress there is a copy of Christian Hough's *Kurzer und erbaulicher Auszug* printed in Germantown by Christopher Sauer in 1748. The binding on this volume is a good example of the difference in the technique employed by the craftsmen working in Lancaster Valley and the craftsmen binding books for the Sauer Press in Germantown. This volume is a 16mo covered with a fine calf. It has very heavy wooden boards beveled on the inside of the cover. These boards are laced onto the book with the three cords on which it is sewn. It has a worked headband over a round cord and colored edges. The work is orthodox German technique throughout.

Identifying binders is difficult. The work on the books discussed seems to come from several binderies in Lancaster where slightly different methods were used although the general tradition was always upheld. Surviving work of the Ephrata Cloister is plentiful and in good condition. In the Fackenthal Library there is a quarto German Bible printed in 1819 and bound by Henrich Miller, Lancaster, with his ticket. His craft methods follow the traditional Cloister work fifty years earlier and is identical in all important details. The Miller shop seems to use an un-

finished brass nail to fix the clasp. The Cloister nail is nicely rounded and finished.

Henrich Miller, the binder, is believed to have been the son of Henrich Miller, the printer, who in 1752 had a printing establishment in Lancaster and printed a number of books with S. Hammond. The printer's father, also Henrich, was born in Switzerland in 1663 and died in Lancaster, April 20, 1739. He is buried in Tachanez cemetery on Pequea Creek, near Neff's Mill, Lancaster.

Henrich Miller, the printer, was a wanderer and worked for various printers in Europe and America. In 1742 he came to Philadelphia and worked for a time for Franklin. He then went back to Europe and established a shop in London. Returning to Lancaster, he set up shop in 1752. In 1760 we find him in Philadelphia, where he operated a printing establishment. He died in Bethlehem, March 31, 1782. His son evidently remained in Lancaster. His work and his ticket speak for what is known of him.

Bookmaking in Lancaster County was almost a completely self-contained industry. The paper makers, tanners, printers and binders all lived together in the small community. The religious population provided a market at home for the finished work. The books were well bound and well cared for; consequently good and plentiful examples remain for our study.

A Letter of Mercator Concerning His *Ptolemy*

By GEORGE K. BOYCE

THE Pierpont Morgan Library has among its autograph manuscripts one of the twenty-seven surviving letters from the hand of Gerard Mercator.¹ Though the letter has been known for more than fifty years, its Latin text has never been transcribed. John Boyd Thacher, a former owner, did publish a facsimile of the body of the letter, along with an English translation,² but these were so unsatisfactory that later writers dealing with the Mercator correspondence³ could give only brief or inaccurate notices of it.

It is not for want of interesting subject matter that the letter has been passed over. In it Mercator writes of his *Ptolemy*, and the information which it supplies, added to that which may be gleaned from the other extant letters, enables us to trace his slow and painful progress in preparing that work for the press. The letter is addressed to Paul Langer, Secretary to the Duke of Jülich, Mercator's patron, asking him to use his influence to expedite the license for the *Ptolemy* which had already been requested from the Imperial Court in Vienna. The plea was made

¹ The extant correspondence of Mercator is treated briefly by F. Van Ortroij in his *Bibliographie sommaire de l'Oeuvre mercatorienne* in *Revue des Bibliothèques*, XXV / XXVI: 14-30 (1915-1916); and more fully by H. Averdunk and J. Müller-Reinhard, *Gerhard Mercator und die Geographen unter seinen Nachkommen* (*Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft Nr. 182*, Gotha, 1914). Many of the letters were published for the first time in an appendix to J. Van Raemdonck, *Gérard Mercator, sa Vie et ses Oeuvres* (St. Nicolas, Belgium, 1869). In addition to the twenty-seven letters of which the originals are still preserved, nine others are known in copies or résumés.

² John Boyd Thacher, *The Continent of America* (New York, 1896), 191-192.

³ Van Ortroij, *op. cit.*, 18; Averdunk-Müller, *op. cit.*, 111-112.

in vain, as we shall see, and the failure of the Emperor to grant the license promptly was one of the factors which caused the publication of the Ptolemy to be long delayed.

The Morgan letter⁴ is written on a single folio sheet of paper (13 by 8¼ inches). The reverse bears the address in a clear, round hand which is quite different from that of the letter proper:

Ornatissimo viro D Paulo Langer⁵
Illustrissimi Ducis Iulie etc
Secretario, domino et fautori
suo cum primis observando.

The body of the letter is written in Mercator's somewhat cramped, but fairly legible hand:

Salutem Plurimam. Vir ornatissime Cum ante menses duos Illustrissimi Principis⁶ Cubicularium Iacobum Wichium⁷ inter cetera^{7a} colloquia de privilegio in meum Ptolemeum impetrandò *percontarer*, asseruit ille a nemine lubentius promptiusque id *quam* a tua humanitate prestitum iri, ut *cum* auctoritas et studium huiusmodi honestissimis causis promovendis *non* deesset, tum etiam qui erga me conatusque meos geographicos amanter affectus esses. Recepit ille se data

⁴ Seymour De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, H. W. Wilson Co., 1935-1940), II: 1605. The earlier history of the letter given by De Ricci can be extended backwards to the collection of Graf Ludwig Paar, from which it passed by sale in 1893 to E. Benjamin; Thacher acquired it from Benjamin.

⁵ De Ricci, *loc. cit.*, erroneously gives the name as "Laeger." Paul Langer appears to have come to the office of Secretary to the Duke of Jülich only a short time before this letter. He succeeded "Gerhard" as Secretary in 1576; cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XLIII: 111. His newness to that office may explain Mercator's unusual procedure in initiating his request for aid with the license through the Court Chamberlain, Wichius.

⁶ Wilhelm V, Herzog von Cleve-Julich-Berg, 1516-1592; cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XLIII: 106-113. It is not known just when he became Mercator's patron, but apparently between 1564 (the year in which the *Angliae Scotiae & Hiberniae Nova Descriptio* appeared without any mention of the Duke) and 1569 (when Mercator first calls himself the Duke's "Cosmographer" in a published work, i. e. the *Chronologia* in which he is named: "Illustriss: Ducis Iuliae, Cliviae, Montis, etc. Cosmographus"). See Van Ortroij, *Revue des Bibliothèques*, XXIV: 129 (1914).

⁷ I have been unable to identify further this Chamberlain of Herzog Wilhelm. J. B. Thacher, *loc. cit.*, translates the name as "James Wicham" but without citing any authority for doing so. Averdunk-Müller, *op. cit.*, 111, apparently depending on Thacher's facsimile, misreads the surname "Machius."

^{7a} Mercator regularly writes "ae" as "e" with a cedilla-like mark below it. For want of the proper typographical symbol, this is printed as simple "e" throughout the address and body of the letter.

oportunitate hac de re tecum acturum, curaturumque ut Illustrissimi Principis mandato ad Cesaream Maiestatem⁸ scriberetur eiusque intercessione adiuncta, supplicatio mea exhiberetur, quam tua dexteritate disponendam conscribendamque censebat. Itaque paulo post precipuam supplicationis materiam rudi minerva delineatam ad D. Iacobum misi, orans ut tue humanitati illam expoliendam augmentandamque exhiberet. Id postea factum esse intellexi, literasque iam ad Cesaream Maiestatem missas, spemque esse, ut brevi privilegium hoc expediretur. Quamobrem quum nunc insistent nudine Francofordienses⁹ in quibus si fieri posset opus hoc Ptolemei lubenter divenderem avide admodum supplicationis mee indultum privilegium expecto, precipue quum eo concessio ad eandem mihi formam apud Aulam Brabanticam¹⁰ sit supplicandum. Vtrinque enim privilegium mihi impetrandum est priusquam edere liceat. Precor ergo vir ornatissime ut si necdum concessi privilegii significationem habes, proxima oportunitate apud Maiestatis Senatum instes, quo id quam citissime licebit fiat. Ut autem nostri causeque nostre sis memor mitto tabulam Europe¹¹ panno inductam coloribusque distinctam, amplius tue humanitatis erga me benevolentiam promeriturus, Ubi

⁸ Rudolf II, Roman Emperor from 1576 to 1612.

⁹ The importance of the Frankfort Book Fair to the German book trade is treated in the introduction to *The Frankfort Book Fair; the Francofordiense Emporium of Henri Estienne, ed. with Historical Introduction*, by James W. Thompson (Chicago, 1911). Additional literature is cited in the *Lexikon des Gesamten Buchwesens*, hrsg. von Karl Löffler und J. Kirchner (Leipzig, 1935-1937), I: 565. Allusions to the Fair as the market for his globes are frequent in Mercator's letters, e.g. those printed by Van Raemdonck, *op. cit.*, 284, 287, 289, and that quoted below in Note 16.

¹⁰ The Court of Philip II of Spain in Brussels. It was essential to obtain this second license in order to protect the sale of the volume in the Netherlands. The Imperial license was probably the more important of the two, since it covered sales at the Book Fair held in the Imperial city of Frankfort. For a brief discussion of the license, or "privilegium," and the protection it afforded to authors and publishers, see the articles *Buchhändlerische Privilegien* and *Druckprivilegien* in the *Lexikon des Gesamten Buchwesens*, I: 280, 445.

Though the remainder of the correspondence relating to the license for the Ptolemy is not known to have survived, a group of four documents concerning a similar license for the earlier *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio* (1569) are still preserved in Vienna. The procedure which Mercator followed on that occasion was apparently similar to that for Ptolemy: he sent his application for the license directly to the Emperor; then wrote a letter to the Duke of Jülich, requesting that he recommend that application to the attention of the Emperor; this the Duke did in a letter (in German) which he sent directly to the Emperor. All three letters are preserved along with the original privilegium for the volume of maps, and have been published by H. Van Ortoy in the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* (Brussels) LXXXI: 486-492 (1912). Unfortunately it is not possible to determine the length of time which the Imperial Chancery required to issue the license in this earlier case, for none of the letters was dated.

¹¹ Apparently a specially prepared copy of Mercator's *Europae descriptio emendata* which had been published in 1572, a second edition of the map of Europe which he brought out originally in 1554; cf. Averdunk-Müller, *op. cit.*, 53.

hoc opus in lucem dedero. Bene vale colende in primis Domine. Duysburgi
22 Iunii 1577.

Ornatissimae Humanitati Tuae

omni obsequio paratissimus Gerardus
Mercator.

"... When, two months ago, I was questioning Jacobus Wichius,⁷ Chamberlain of the Most Illustrious Prince,⁶ about obtaining a license for my Ptolemy, among a number of things, he asserted that no one would do this more willingly or more promptly than you, inasmuch as you not only have the influence and the zeal for furthering very worthy projects of this sort, but are kindly disposed towards me and my efforts in the field of geography. He promised to take this matter up with you himself when opportunity offered; to arrange for a letter to be written to His Imperial Majesty⁸ by command of the Most Illustrious Prince and incorporating his recommendation; and to see to the presentation of my petition. The petition, he thought, should be organized and written up with your skill. Therefore, I shortly afterward sent Jacobus the data pertinent to the petition, sketched out roughly, begging him to present it to you to polish up and expand. I have learned that this was done subsequently, that the letter has now been dispatched to His Imperial Majesty and that there is hope that this license will be procured shortly. Wherefore, since the Frankfort Fair⁹ is now at hand, at which I should gladly retail this work of Ptolemy, if it be possible, I am most eagerly awaiting the granting of my petition and the license; especially since, once it has been granted, I must petition the Court at Brussels¹⁰ in the same manner, for I am required to obtain a license from each of them before I can publish. I therefore beg you, distinguished Sir, in case you do not yet have word of the granting of my license, to urge upon His Imperial Majesty's Council at the earliest opportunity that it be done as soon as possible. With the hope that you may be mindful of me and my cause, I am sending you a map of Europe,¹¹ mounted on cloth and colored, for I shall be the more deserving of your kindness toward me, when I have brought this work to the light. Farewell. . . Duisburg, 22 June 1577 . . ."

The "Ptolemy," of which Mercator writes, is his *Tabulae geographicae Cl. Ptolemaei ad mentem autoris restitutae & emendatae*, the volume of maps to the *Geographia* which, its colophon tells us, was published in 1578,¹² the year following that of our letter. Though

¹² A more recent bibliography of the works of Mercator than those cited in Note 1, above, is contained in *A. Ortelii Catalogus Cartographorum, bearbeitet von Leo Bagrow* (*Petermanns Mitteilungen. Ergänzungsheft Nr. 199, 210*, Gotha, 1928-1930) II: 3-17. The work of Averdunk-Müller is much fuller; he treats the Ptolemy on pp. 75-79. Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America* gives a detailed bibliography of all editions of the *Geography*, including those of Mercator, XVI: 43-87.

the letter implies that Mercator had completed his work on the volume at the time of the writing, and needed only the license to get it out and on sale, we know from the rest of his extant correspondence that such was not the case. Several of his letters fall within the period 1572-1578, between the publication of the *Europae descriptio emendata* and that of the Ptolemy, during which he brought out no other work, and allude to his continual labors on the Ptolemy. These allusions indicate that, though he was eager to complete this work and get it published as soon as possible, he was prevented from concentrating on it by interruptions and other duties. He told his correspondents again and again that he was on the point of publishing the Ptolemy, yet the work dragged on and on, and was not finally completed until many months after the Langer letter.

We first read of the undertaking in a letter of 9 May 1572, addressed to his friend and fellow-geographer, Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp, in which Mercator refers to his work of "correcting Ptolemy and recent maps"—a project upon which he has been engaged "for some years now."¹³ Three years later, on 26 March 1575, he again wrote Ortelius that he was still busy with the Ptolemy, though making slow progress because of his many other occupations.¹⁴ On 20 August of the same year he set a date for the completion of the work in a letter to J. Camerarius, a physician of Nuremberg, saying that he hoped to have the Ptolemy maps published within a year, in spite of the continued slow rate of progress upon them.¹⁵

But the maps were still unfinished two years later, when on

¹³ "... scis me iam ab aliquot annis in castigationem Ptolemei et recentium tabularum occupatum esse..." The letter is published in *A. Ortelii . . . et virorum eruditum ad eundem . . . epistolae . . .* ed. J. H. Hessels (*Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum* published by the Dutch Reformed Church of Austin Friars in London, Cambridge, 1887-1897) I: 88-89.

¹⁴ "... tot occupationibus distrahor ut lente admodum in expediendo Ptolemei opere progrediar, facio tamen quod possum..." Van Raemdonck, *op. cit.*, 282.

¹⁵ "... In veteribus Ptolemaei tabulis sedulus sum, sed solus lente admodum progredior, aliis subinde occupationibus hanc operam interrumpentibus; tamen spero ante annum absolutas dare..." Van Raemdonck, *op. cit.*, 287.

31 August 1577 (which is more than two months after the date of the letter to Langer), he wrote at some length about his difficulties with the Ptolemy by way of explaining to Theodor Zwinger in Basel why he had not been able to deliver the globes which the latter had ordered from him many months before. He told Zwinger that at the time he received the order for the globes, he was too involved in preparing the Ptolemy maps for the engravers to be able to spare any time for the globes. "For certain artisans," he wrote, "were then offering me their services and I feared that, unless I started them quickly on my work, they would leave me and take employment with others." Once they had begun the engraving, Mercator found it necessary to devote all his own time to keeping ahead of them. He said that he kept hoping to get to work on the globes, but that actually he had not been able to spend any time on them "during this entire year and the greater part of last year." He concluded with a promise: "When I have finished and published the Ptolemy maps (which I hope will be within a month) I shall proceed with the globes you desire and, God willing, shall complete them for the next Fair. For I have ready enough maps of the more recent geography (for the engraving of which we are now making ready) to keep the workmen occupied for some months and permit me to turn my attention to other things in the meantime. . . ."¹⁶

¹⁶ " . . . Eram tum in apparandis ad sculpturam Ptolemaei tabulis impeditior quam ut in proximas nundinas tuae expectationi destinatum obsequium persolvere possem, nam erant qui suam operam offerebant artifices, quos nisi citius in opus meum induxissem, metuebam ne aliis suam operam, me relicto, addicerent. Ita incohato ab illis opere, sperabam post vernaes nundinas successivis horis diebusque apparandis globis operam dare, ceterum cum putarem in aliquot septimanas sufficientem apparatus sculptoribus praeparasse, novi subinde labores, novae remorae subortae fuerunt ut vix pari cum illis gressu progredi . . . potuerim . . . Nullum igitur tempus parandis globis mihi relictum fuit toto hoc anno et magna elapsi parte, quo factum est ut non hiis modo, verum etiam multorum aliorum votis, qui eadam a me iam multo tempore expectant, satisfacere potuerim. Ignosces igitur . . . longiori morae nostrae. Cum geographicas Ptolemei tabulas perfecero edideroque (quod intra mensem futurum spero) globos quos petis aggrediar et in sequentes nundinas Deo volente perficiam. Habeo enim recentioris geographiae, ad quam in aes exarandam nunc accingimur, tot praeparatas tabulas, quae in aliquot menses operariis sufficiant, ut etiam aliis interim rebus mihi incumbere liceat . . . " *Comptes Rendus de la Commission Royale d'histoire*, Ser. 5, VIII: 555-556 (Brussels, 1898).

A few days after this letter, on September 4, Mercator sent a similar message to Camerarius, who was likewise awaiting globes which were long overdue, asking him to be patient until the Ptolemy was finished. He again set the date for its completion as "within a month or a little more," assuring his correspondent that "all is very nearly prepared for putting the finishing touches to the printing; and nothing is delaying me except the printing of the license which I have not yet received."¹⁷ Mercator was not being quite accurate in this last statement, for he had another six months of work before he could write to Camerarius again (on 10 March 1578) to tell him that he had found "some leisure" from the "vexations of Ptolemy's Geography" and could execute his globes.¹⁸ His language does not make it certain that the maps were then finished, but does clearly indicate that they were far enough along so that Mercator could devote at least part of his time to other pressing business like the globes.

Some months after he had finally succeeded in getting the volume out, Mercator reverted to his long struggle with it in another letter of apology for failing to meet his obligations on time. On 20 October 1578 he wrote to Johannes Crato von Crafftheim, physician to the Emperor, to explain that his difficulties with the Ptolemy had prevented him from answering his correspondent's letter sooner. "For three years," he declared, "I hoped every six months to complete that work, but more troubles and labors lay in wait for me than I had been able to foresee. Finally, through God's kindness, I added the colophon, and was compelled to publish before obtaining the license from His Imperial Majesty (because my application for it was pressed too negligently). Now that

¹⁷ "... Diu in apparando Ptolemei opere geographico occupatissimus fui, ut extruendis spheris, quas multi iam plus quam ab anno a me expectant, operam impendere non licuerit. . . Volui humanitati tuae . . . precari, ut paulisper adhuc patienter expectes, donec opus hoc Ptolemaicum edidero, quod infra mensem aut paulo amplius futurum spero. Proxime enim apparata sunt omnia, ut prelo extrema manus imponatur, nec quicquam me remoratur, quam apprimendum privilegium quod necdum accepi. . ." Van Raemdonck, *op. cit.*, 288-289.

¹⁸ "... Exantlatis Ptolemaicae geographiae molestiis . . . tandem otii aliquid nactus fui, ut petitos a te globos perficerem." Van Raemdonck, *op. cit.*, 289.

I have received and printed the license, and since I am bound by his proviso to send not fewer than three copies of the work to the Imperial Chancery, I wanted at the same time to send you a copy of it—such as it is.”¹⁹

We can therefore fix the issue of the first copies of the Ptolemy sometime in the spring of 1578, between early March (when Mercator wrote Camerarius that he had finally been freed somewhat from the “vexations” of the Ptolemy) and 26 May, the date of the Imperial license (prior to which he had begun publication). These first copies he issued without any license, but when the Court at Vienna finally sent him the “privilegium,” he printed it, along with that which he received from Philip II some three months earlier, either on the last leaf of the volume, or on a separate leaf which was bound in following the title-page. Thus arose the two issues of the Ptolemy which were printed in 1578.²⁰

The letters tell of three complimentary copies of the new volume which its author distributed soon after publication. The first is one he sent on 14 July 1578 to Werner von Gymnich, Marschall von Jülich, as recorded in a letter (in Flemish) which Mercator directed to him on that date.²¹ The second is the copy forwarded to J. Crato von Crafftheim which has been mentioned above. The third he sent early the next year (on 31 January

¹⁹ “. . . verum quando ita variis multisque occupationibus perpetuo obruor, ut otium cum opportunitate rarissime coincidat, et paulo post in graves incidissem aegritudines, longa dilatione factum est, ut Ptolemaici operis consummationem expectandam constituerim. . . Et speravi quidem a triennio fore in singula semestria illud opus absolvere, sed plus in recessu difficultatis et laborum latuit quam antea perspicere poteram. Tandem Dei beneficio colophonem addidi, et priusquam a caesarea maiestate privilegium nactus essem (quod negligentius id sollicitaretur), in lucem dare coactus fui; quo nunc accepto et appresso, quum iuxta eius praescriptum tria ut minimum exemplaria ad cancellariam imperatoriam mittere tenear, simul tuae amplitudini hoc quaecumque opus mittere volui. . .” Van Raemdonck, *op. cit.*, 291.

²⁰ Averdunk, *op. cit.*, 75. The first issue contains two dates: that of the colophon, “Anno Virginei Partus, M.D.LXXVIII” and that of the dedication to the Duke of Jülich, “Duysbergi mense Febr: 1578.” The second issue bears in addition the dates of the two privileges: “Datum 3. Februarii 1578, Bruxellae,” and “Datum Viennae Austriae 26. Maii. 1578”; cf. Sabin’s *Dictionary*, XVI: 67.

²¹ Averdunk, *op. cit.*, 80, 113, 171.

1579) to his friend the English antiquary, William Camden, in London.²²

The fact of the long delay in getting the Ptolemy off the press is well documented, but not its cause. The want of a license must have been extremely irritating, yet it did not hold up the publication for long, if at all. Mercator may have waited a few weeks after completing his work in the hope that the license would come in, but, as we have seen, he did issue the first copies without it. His frequent allusions to the interruptions which kept delaying him were always couched in the vaguest terms: "aliae occupationes," "novae remorae," "novi labores." He never specified the nature of these "other occupations" and "new labors." Lack of skilled workmen could hardly have been the cause, as it was for the delay of his later *Atlas*,²³ since he told Zwinger that he had engravers at work on the Ptolemy maps who, moreover, were so fast as to press him to keep ahead of them with his own work. There are no grounds for postulating financial troubles or the need of engaging in other activities in order to earn a living: Mercator was the Duke's Cosmographer and already enjoyed a wide reputation; his family was grown and his son had already begun issuing maps in his own name; most significantly of all, Mercator had no time for the globes which were in great demand and which must have brought him in a good return.²⁴ Once, to be sure, he does refer to a serious illness,²⁵ but he makes no particular point of it, as he does of the "aliae occupationes," and we cannot assume that ill-health was a principal reason for the long postponement of the Ptolemy.

²² " . . . Mitto humanitati tuae tabularum Ptolemaei a me editarum exemplar, si forte in eo aliquid sit quod tuis conatibus subservire possit." Van Raemdonck, *op. cit.*, 293.

²³ The large *Atlas* which was not published in its entirety during Mercator's lifetime, though parts of it appeared in 1585; cf. Ortelius-Bagrow, *op. cit.*, II: 12 and Averdunk-Müller, *op. cit.*, 75.

²⁴ See the two selections from letters given in Notes 16, 17 above, and cf. Averdunk-Müller, *op. cit.*, 23-24 and Van Raemdonck, *op. cit.*, 288, note 4.

²⁵ See the passage quoted in Note 19 above.

We are left to conjecture that Mercator was spending his time on other geographical work than the Ptolemy and the globes. Though he had in hand no other projects which were vying with the Ptolemy for priority in publication, he seems to have been continually at work on the maps of "the more recent geography," which were to appear in his large *Atlas*. There is evidence, in the letters again, that many of these maps had already been completed in the summer of 1578, immediately following the publication of the Ptolemy.²⁶ We have noted above that Mercator wrote Ortelius as early as 1572 of his work of correcting both Ptolemy and "the recent maps." Moreover, his assurance to Zwinger that he would have time for the globes, once the Ptolemy was out of the way, was based on his having ready enough maps of "the more recent geography" to keep his engravers busy for months. These maps must have been prepared during the years Mercator was at work on the Ptolemy as his major effort, while he was giving his correspondents the impression that he was concentrating on the Ptolemy to the exclusion of everything else. We may conclude, therefore, that the "interruptions" and "other occupations" which hindered the completion of the Ptolemy were of its author's own choosing. He preferred to carry along simultaneously the preparation of the maps for both the Ptolemy and the larger atlas which would be his next publication, and these two publications seemed more worthy of his time than the globes which so many were clamoring for.

To return to the Langer letter, Mercator was certainly being over-optimistic in suggesting that only the lack of a license would keep him from having the volume on sale at the next session of the Frankfort Book Fair (the Herbstmesse) which would open for about ten days some two months after the date of the letter. He hoped, we may suppose, to speed up the license. And, indeed, his fear of an unreasonable delay was more than justified by the event, for the Imperial Chancery did not issue the document until

²⁶ Ortelius-Bagrow, *op. cit.*, II: 11-12.

eleven months after he had written this letter to Langer to ask his aid. It is interesting to note that the cartographer attributed this delay, not to red-tape or bureaucratic inefficiency, but rather—as he told Crato von Crafftheim²⁷—to the failure on the part of his sponsor to push his application strongly enough. He may well have been thinking of Langer and of the letter which has been published above, and perhaps he regretted having sent the gift copy of the map of Europe “*panno inducta coloribusque distincta*” with which he had hoped to secure the Secretary’s best efforts on behalf of himself and his Ptolemy.

²⁷ See Note 19 above.

Bibliographical Notes

Chaucer's "House of Fame"; Another Caxton Variant

The first edition of Geoffrey Chaucer's *House of Fame* was printed by William Caxton in Westminster about the year 1484 and has been known to the world of bibliography for nearly two centuries.¹ For a book that is comparatively rare even among Caxtons (Seymour de Ricci² lists but four copies, viz. British Museum, Rylands, Vienna and Cambridge), bibliographical descriptions of this edition are certainly numerous.³ Under these circumstances, it is somewhat surprising that there appears to be no earlier notice of the fact that one of the extant copies varies from the other known examples.

If one takes the colophon as described by Duff as the standard form and compares it with that found in the Vienna copy, it immediately becomes apparent that the Vienna colophon represents a different setting of type.⁴ The colophon, of course, is found on the recto of the last printed leaf, sign. d5. This much having been established, the next logical step in the bibliographical analysis of the volume is to determine if the entire sheet containing the colophon is present in variant states or if only the colophon had been reset by the printer. Since the book was printed in folio and the last quire consisted of three sheets, the sheet in question is the second one of the quire, with the conjugate leaves d2 and d5. Upon collating a photostatic copy of the Vienna example with the microfilm of the one at Cambridge⁵ and the

¹ See the description by Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (London, 1749), I: 61.

² Seymour de Ricci, *A Census of Caxtons* (London, Bibliographical Society, 1909 [Illustrated Monograph No. XV]), no. 21.

³ Hain No. 4925; Ames I: 61; Ames-Herbert I: 81; Ames-Herbert-Dibdin I: 311; Dibdin, *Bibl. Spenc.*, IV: 312, No. 871; Blades, *Life*, II: 165; Blades, *Biography*, p. 291; Duff No. 86; Rylands, *Cat. Eng. Inc.*, p. 22; *Gesamtkatalog* No. 6589.

⁴ The editors of the *Gesamtkatalog*, although describing the Vienna copy, failed to realize that their very short facsimile section differed from that given by Duff. They must have concluded that the other descriptions included minor misprints.

⁵ Edwards No. 127; Case 1, Carton 1; film position 3.

type-reprint of the British Museum's volume,⁶ it becomes evident that the entire sheet in the Vienna *House of Fame* belongs to a different setting than that found in the other two examples.⁷ It is not true that Caxton merely reset the lines noted below; on the contrary, it is quite certain that all the pages of this sheet were set up afresh.⁸

There are in all, exclusive of the colophon, twenty-two lines in a total of ninety which contain readily identifiable cases of resetting. Characteristic examples from each of the three pages may be cited to indicate the nature of the typographic changes.⁹ In each case, the text of the Cambridge copy (C) is quoted first (with which, of course, the Museum's example agrees) and that of the Vienna volume (V) is given directly below:

d2 recto, line 32

And I answerde / noo parde (C)

And I answerd noo parde (V)

d2 verso, lines 1-2

Ne eke of her dyscripcion

Ne also of her condicion (C)

Ne eke of hyr dyscripcyon

Ne also of hyr condycion (V)

d5 recto, lines 1-4

They were a chekked bothe two

And neyther of hym myght ou goo

And wyth the noyse of themwo Caxton¹⁰

⁶ Published by the Chaucer Society, Issue for 1878, No. LVII, item 10.

⁷ That the Rylands copy agrees with the Cambridge and British Museum examples is made evident by the reprint in the catalogue of the colophon (*English Incunabula in the John Rylands Library* [Manchester, 1930], pp. 22-23, Nos. 7913.1 and 7913.2). As Dibdin had previously pointed out (p. 319), the Rylands library contains two copies of the colophon page but the catalogue intimates that these are identical. De Ricci incorrectly states that the Rylands copy has d6 in duplicate; the blank last leaf is wanting in this copy.

⁸ The different spacings and the different use of tied-letters clearly indicate the resetting of most lines where the text is otherwise absolutely identical.

⁹ The long *s* of the original has not been reproduced.

¹⁰ Dibdin states (p. 318 note): "At the top of the last page, opposite the third line, there is printed (whimsically enough), by Caxton himself, the word 'Caxton.'" There is nothing whimsical about it. Caxton realized that Chaucer had never completed the poem and added his own conclusion; in order to indicate this, he placed his name where his lines commence. This point also seems to have been missed by Professor Fred N. Robinson who observes that the Caxton edition adds "12 lines apparently spurious" (*The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1933, p. 1018).

I Sodeynly awoke anon tho (C)
 They were a chekked bothe two
 And neyther of hym mght out goo
 And wyth the noyse of them two Caxton
 I sodaynly awoke anon tho (V)

Since the colophon is an example of Caxton's own composition and style,¹¹ it seems desirable to reproduce it in full from the Vienna copy with the readings of the other copies, found also in the standard books of reference,¹² given as *variae lectiones*:

I fynde nomore of thys^a werke to fore said^b / For as fer as I can || vnderstonde^c
 / This noble man Gefferey Chaucer fynysshyd at the || sayd conclusion of the
 metyng of lesyng and sothsawe / where || as yet they ben chekked and maye
 not departe / whyche werke as || me semeth is craftyly made / and dygne to be
 wreton & knowen / || For he towchyth in it ryght grete wysedom and^d subtyll
 vnderston||dyng^e / And so in alle hys werkis^f he excellyth in myn oppyny-||on
 alle other wryters in our Englyssh^g / For he wrytteth no voy-||de wordes / but alle
 hys mater is ful of hye and quycke senten-||ce^h / to whom ought to be gyuen
 laude and preysyng for hys no-||ble makyng and wrytyng / For of hym alle
 other haue borrowed || syth and taken / in alle theyr wel sayeng and wrytyng /
 And || I humbly besече & praye yow / emonge your prayers to remem-||bre
 hys soule / on whyche and on alle crysten soulis I besече al-||myghty god to
 haue mercy Amen || Emprynted by wylliamⁱ Caxton ||

a) this. b) sayd. c) vnderstōde. d) &. e) vnderston-||dyng. f) werkys.
 g) Englyssh. h) senten||ce. i) wylliam.

It is seemingly impossible to determine which is the earlier setting. On the one hand, the text represented by the Cambridge copy has the misprint "themwo" in line 3 of d5;¹³ on the other, the Vienna example incorrectly has "mght" in the previous line of the same page. One cannot, therefore, argue for the priority of either setting on the basis of corrected misprints.¹⁴ In any case, to correct these minor slips Caxton need only have reset the lines in question, which he was, of course, perfectly capable of doing with-

¹¹ Dibdin (IV: 319) remarks: "There are few of Caxton's colophons which contain more interesting observation than the preceding (i.e., *House of Fame*)."

¹² As listed in note 3. See also Plate XLI in Blades's *Life* and W. J. B. Crotch, *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton* (London, Early English Text Society, 1928 [Original Series No. 176]), p. 69.

¹³ Robinson (*loc. cit.*) and the Chaucer Society reprint both read "them wo."

¹⁴ The Vienna copy also has the slight misprint "sefl" for "self" in line 14 of d2.

out disturbing the rest of the forme.¹⁵ The only likely solutions¹⁶ for the problem as to why this sheet was reset are either that the original type-pages had suffered such accidental damage that they could no longer be used for printing or that the printer, having produced too few of these sheets, was forced to reset the type in order to complete the number of copies in hand. As problematical as these surmises may be, no other solution presents itself to the writer.

CURT F. BÜHLER

Two Notes On Running-Titles As Bibliographical Evidence

(1) *George Sandys: "Ovid's Metamorphosis," 1632*

In the 1632 edition of the translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* by George Sandys (STC 18966), printed at Oxford by Lichfield, occurs a curious printing problem. The volume is a folio in 4's with the text of the verse translation of each of the fifteen books of Ovid succeeded by a prose commentary. The translation of Book I ends on sig. C1. On C1^v is found a note to the reader discussing the authorities used in the commentary, with the statement that this note was introduced to fill up a page left blank in error by the printer.¹ The commentary to Book I begins on C2 (without a running-title) and continues through E3^v with a headline differing in text from the running-titles to the verse books. No leaf E4 is present, its

¹⁵ Thus, for example, in the *Chess Book*, the *Caton*, and the *Boke of Eneydos*; compare my paper *Caxton Variants*, in: *The Library* (London), Series IV, XVII: 62-69 [1936]. In the *House of Fame*, there is at least one example of a "stop press" correction. In the Vienna copy, line 4 of sign. a5 verso reads: "To lone hym that vnknown is." In the Cambridge copy the "lone" has been corrected to "loue"; this correction is also found in the British Museum example according to the type-reprint (line 270) and in the copy in the John Rylands Library if Dibdin is accurate (*Bibl. Spenc.*, IV, 314). The "n" is probably only a turned "u" which the printer corrected without (apparently) altering the rest of the line or resetting it. While this, of course, offers proof for the priority of the Vienna copy over the Cambridge one as far as *this* sheet is concerned, it does not follow that the sheet with the colophon in the Vienna example is necessarily also in the earlier state.

¹⁶ For such variants, see my *Variants in English Incunabula* in: *Bookmen's Holiday* (New York, The New York Public Library, 1943), pp. 459-474.

¹ Each book of verse begins on the recto of a leaf, with the preceding verso blank if necessary. Evidently the printer had originally planned to adopt the same system for the commentaries; but after this instance these begin on the versos as well as the rectos of leaves in order to save paper. (Sandys was having this book printed at his own expense.) If the note on C1^v is literally true, as likely, either the sheet was re-run through the press, or else Sandys, attending the press, wrote the note for insertion when he saw the blank page in proof. In an apparently unique copy at the University of Virginia, sig. C1^v is blank.

place being occupied by an inserted plate facing the start of the verse of Book II on F1.

Gathering E, therefore, ends a section and is a three-leaf quire composed of a disjunct leaf inserted in the fold of conjugate E1.3. E1 and E2 are correctly signed; E3, however, is missigned as F3. In the next gathering (in 4's), F1 is correctly signed, but F2 and F3 are missigned as E2 and E3. E1 through E3^v are paged 33-38, with E2 mispaged as 34, press-corrected to 35. F1 is paged 37, F1^v 46, F2 43(47), F2^v 44(48), F3 45(49), F3^v 46(50), F4 51, F4^v 52, with G1 and succeeding pages continuing the series from 53 on. The figures in parentheses represent variant pagination made by press-alteration, and it will be noticed that this alteration was made in both formes of the inner sheet.

Faced with this puzzle, one's natural enquiry is whether there has been a considerable disruption in the text, with E2 perhaps representing the only remaining leaf of an original and cancelled gathering in 4's. The running-titles, however, show that this hypothesis cannot be entertained, since by their evidence leaf E2 was printed as a single leaf by half-sheet imposition and hence never possessed a conjugate. Briefly, the two running-titles used in the skeleton-forme of D1^v.4 (the inner forme of the outer sheet of D) appear on E2 recto and verso and again in the forme used to print E1.3^v. The different skeleton used for D1.4^v was used to impose E1^v.3. Since, therefore, both E2 and E2^v were imposed in the single skeleton used for D1^v.4 (and E1.3^v), half-sheet imposition must have been utilized to print two copies of the identical leaf on each full sheet of paper.²

The puzzle of the mispagination and the missigning is by no means so readily solved, and no certain answer can be presented here. The order of the skeletons, as evidenced by the running-titles of sheets C, D, and E, would indicate that customary printing from the inside out prevailed, and hence that the inner sheet of the quires was first machined. If this were so with gathering F, then on the evidence of the outer sheet, the inner sheet of F was originally paged 43-46. To be precise, one of its formes—probably the inner—was paged in this sequence and then press-altered. When the

² The argument runs thus. If E2 had been printed with a conjugate, E2 recto and E2 verso would have been printed in different formes, presumably the two formes used to print each sheet of gathering D and the outer sheet of E. Since, instead, only one forme was used, the two type-pages were almost positively imposed together in the skeleton used for D1^v.4. It is a reasonable inference, also, that this half-sheet imposition was printed off before the formes of E1.3 were imposed. Such printing most naturally explains the switch of the outer forme of the outer sheet of D (last through the press) to impose the inner forme of the outer sheet of E (first through the press for this sheet).

sheet was perfected, the printer took care to perfect with the outer forme according to the variant pagination of the inner, stopping his press to alter the pagination when the sequence shifted. Out of about twenty copies which I have examined or had reports on, no copy contained the states of the pagination mixed, but instead there was perfect conformity according to the sequence.

If the outer sheet of F were printed last, there is no significance to the mispagination 37 on F1, although it may be pointed out that there seems to have been considerable confusion between the gatherings E and F, and if 46 were the correct pagination for F1^v, then 37 would have been correct for E1 recto.³ If one or other formes of inner sheet F were first printed, the sequence 43-46 would have been correct either (1) if gathering E had been a normal four-leaf gathering or else (2) if the plate inserted after E3 had been counted in the pagination. In this volume the plates are not so counted except for the plate to Book XV, for which the pagination 489-490 has been tacitly reserved; however, since the plate following E3 was the first to appear within a pagination series, perhaps the printer may originally have intended to take account of the plates.

The question arises, then, of the change by press-alteration from the reasonably correct series 43-46 to incorrect 47-50 which became perpetuated. Here one may only speculate. It is just possible that while the first forme of the inner sheet of F was printing, the printer recalled the machining of an odd sheet in the preceding gathering E (or if two presses were at work, he may have observed it on the other press), and thereupon confused it as the insertion of a single leaf in a four-leaf gathering or else as a full sheet to make up a six-leaf gathering. Either would make the series 47-50 correct depending upon whether the plate was to be tacitly paged or not, and it was with this series that the printer continued.⁴

³ A common form of mispagination results from the compositor's failure to remove and alter the pagination of a wrought-off forme being imposed about new type-pages. This does not explain the mispagination of F1, however, since the running-title on E3 used with page 37 differs from that on F1; nor will it explain the mispagination of E2.

⁴ I am unable to find definite evidence that Lichfield owned two presses in 1632, but he had two several years later and therefore probably in 1632 also. This mistake would be more explicable if two presses, each handling a separate gathering, printed the book; however, the running-titles do not suggest such a procedure, one must confess, although it would have been possible for two presses each to have handled a sheet of each gathering. The care with which the second forme of inner sheet F was press-altered to fit the sequence of the first forme is a noteworthy example of the kind of printing which produced the consequential change in a catchword noted by Dr. Greg in the *Pide Bull Lear*.

Although casual missignings are not unusual in books of this period, there should be more than coincidence to the missignings of E2 and F2 and of F2 and F3 as E2 and E3. This missigning does not coincide in any rational manner with the mispagination, but we should notice especially (1) during the printing of the affected sheets each was presumed to be correct since the compositor did not alter the signing when both formes of inner sheet F were unlocked to change the pagination; (2) each occurs in the inner sheet of the gathering. This might strongly suggest the use of two presses, each machining a sheet of the gatherings.

(2) *George Sandys: "Christ's Passion," 1640*

In the translation from Grotius which Sandys made of *Christ's Passion*, published as an octavo in 1640 (STC 12397 and 12398), the inner forme of gathering A (the first text gathering) appears in two different settings backed by the outer forme in only one invariant setting. The determination of the priority of the settings is of some textual interest since there is a substantive variant in one line; moreover, it furnishes a useful test for comparing the inferences drawn from textual collation with the strictly bibliographical evidence furnished by the running-titles. Setting (1) may be identified by the name '*Herods*' printed in italic in line 8 of A1^v, by the reading 'confcious of' in line 8 of A8 and by the swash *A* and *R* in the running-title on A8. Setting (2) has 'Herods' in roman, the reading 'confcious to,' and no swash letters in the running-title.

The textual evidence is rather ambiguous. Italicizing names is more common in the other gatherings; but in favor of setting (2) as the original would be the argument that 'confcious to' is the "harder" reading and also the important fact that in setting (2) most capital 'W' letters are set as double 'VV,' a practice very common in the outer forme and in other gatherings, whereas only 'W' appears in setting (1). In general, I think almost anyone's first impression would be that setting (2) was the earlier.

The facts of the running-titles are as follows. The skeleton of setting (1) of inner A also was used to impose outer A, with the running-title on A2 removed to make room for the heading on A1, and the running-titles on A8 and A1^v (next to each other in the forme) reset in A7 and A2^v. The type of these two running-titles on A8 and A1^v in setting (1) never appears again in the book. On the other hand, a new skeleton with eight different running-titles was used to impose setting (2) of inner A, and this identical skeleton appears again imposing outer B and one forme of each

later sheet. The identical skeleton with the same running-titles (A1 having been reset) used for outer A appears again imposing inner B and the other forme of later sheets. The only possible way to explain these facts is to assume that the printer planned originally to use only one skeleton throughout and that he printed a certain number of sheets by machining inner A with setting (1). Outer A was imposed with the same skeleton, two running-titles piecing in the process and being reset. While outer A was on the press but after distribution of the wrought-off type-pages of inner A had been made, it was decided to enlarge the edition-sheet. The press thereupon printed extra copies of outer A while the type-pages of inner A were reset and for speed in machining imposed in a newly made-up skeleton. When the enlarged edition-sheet of outer A had been printed, the forme with setting (2) of inner A perfected the necessary extra copies while the skeleton of outer A was being transferred to the type-pages of inner B which was to be next machined. This hypothesis explains in a natural manner the switch of the skeleton of outer A (with normal printing last off the press) to inner B (normally first through the press), and shows how the two running-titles in setting (1) could disappear.⁵

There are several other facts about the publication of this octavo which are not present in the STC and have never been made public. The first issue (STC 12397) exists in two states, both with the Legatt title-page conjugate in the gathering. In the first state the preliminaries in gathering 'a' are in 4's; in the second state the preliminaries are in 8's. In this second state a long commendatory poem by Lord Falkland is added as well

⁵ On the other hand, provided that setting (1) of inner A had been the later setting, if the inner forme were first through the press one would need to explain how the running-titles in outer A could be given their constitution in inner A and then return to the outer A settings in inner B. If outer A were assumed to be first through the press, the same problem is faced with the additional one of explaining the two settings of inner A. There is only one loophole. On E6 the text changes to the commentary, necessitating the removal of some of the running-titles in exchange for titles for the commentary. If the perfecting of the extra sheets of A had been delayed until after the printing of sheet E, the unique running-titles in inner A (1) could represent resettings in place of the commentary titles. But such a delay would be inexplicable, and in fact the play running-titles preserved in gathering E, inner forme, do not sufficiently coincide with those in inner A(1), whereas (with the exception noted) there is perfect coincidence (extending to relative position in the skeleton) between inner A(1) and outer A.

It is just possible that the extra sheets of A were perfected by an inner forme utilizing the skeleton of outer B, and thus probably between the printing of sheets B and C. If this is so, the start of printing with a second skeleton in B is to be accounted for by the change in the relation of composition and press time occasioned by the enlarged edition-sheet.

as an errata list (based on inner A[1]). The standing type of the preliminaries in 4's is considerably corrected and reimposed. It would appear that Legatt was printing sheet 'a' by half-sheet imposition when the Falkland verses arrived, and that he perfected what sheets he had printed before stopping his press to reimpose the gathering. A reissue of the book was made when very shortly after publication a cancellans title-leaf was printed for William Leake (STC 12398). This cancellans utilized the standing type of the Legatt title (including the spelling TRAGEDIE) down to the reset imprint. It is possible that somewhat later Leake may have contracted for a further and substantial supply, for another Leake cancellans was printed from a completely new setting of type, readily identified by the spelling TRAGEDY. However, the possibility cannot be overlooked that the two settings of the cancellans title resulted from simultaneous imposition in one forme and a single machining in order to produce the leaves in the minimum time. All Leake copies seem to have preliminaries in 8's. The Legatt issue is considerably rarer, the first state being held, so far as I know, only by Harvard and the British Museum, with the second state held by Folger, Huntington, New York Public, and Bodleian. The second Leake cancellans title is the common form; copies with the first cancellans title are held, again so far as I know, only by Folger, Harvard and the William A. Clark Memorial, and privately by Dr. W. W. Greg.

FREDSON BOWERS

A Warning for Tabacconists

Work for chimney-fweepers: | or | A warning for tabacconists. | Describing the pernicious | vse of tabacco, no lesse plea- | fant then profitable for all sorts | to reade. | . . . [publisher's device¹] Imprinted at London by T. Efte, for Thomas | Bufhell, & are to be fould at the great North | dore of Powles, 1602. |

The author of this tract² quotes freely from medical writers and may

¹ R. B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices* . . . (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1913), No. 313.

² No. 105468 in: Joseph Sabin, *Dictionary of Books relating to America* . . . Vol. 29 (New York, Bibliographical Society of America, 1926), and No. 12571 in: *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland* . . . 1475-1640 (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1926), cited hereafter as STC. *Work for Chimney-Sweepers* was reproduced as *Shakespeare Association Facsimile* No. 11.

himself have been a physician or at least a student of medicine. The prefatory prose address is signed "Philaretus" and is followed by a prefatory poem signed "I. H." "Philaretus," who appears to be the author of the work, may be identical with "I. H." W. C. Hazlitt, however, once suggested³ that "I. H." might be John Hynd, and more recently R. J. Kane⁴ advanced the claims of Joseph Hall. Kane noted also that the book must have been actually published in 1601, instead of 1602, because Thomas Man entered *A Defence of Tabacco* (STC 6468), which answers the *Work*, on 4 January 1602.

J. E. Brooks called attention⁵ to the fact that there is no sheet D in any known copy and no apparent omission in the text, and that, beginning with sheet E, different type, initials, and running titles are employed; and he suggested that the work may have been set up by two different printers.

This is, indeed, the case; and the ornamental initials in the book indicate that East printed only gatherings A-C while Thomas Creede printed E-G. The initials on A3r (and later in the first section) and B2r are identical with those on I1v and B2r respectively of J. Danyel, *Songs*, 1606 (STC 6268) and the initial on B4r is identical with that on E4v of W. Byrd, *Psalmes* (Bassus), 1588 (STC 4253). Both books were printed by East. On the other hand, the initials on E1r (and later) and E3r appear in a book printed by Creede: R. Cleaver, *A Godly Forme of Household Government*, 1603 (STC 5385) on G1r and Z6v respectively. The cast ornament on G4v seems to be the same as that on B3v of B. Castiglione, *The Courtier*, 1603 (STC 4780), also printed by Creede.

The book is divided into eight different sections, each with a small sub-heading and each devoted to one of the eight reasons "for the dislike that I haue conceiued in the vse and practise of *Tabacco*," outlined on B1v. If the copy had been divided before printing, we would have expected the division to come at the end of one of these "reasons." Instead, the third "reason" is finished and the fourth "reason" begins on E1r, and there is no spacing out or contraction of text on C4v such as might have been

³ In his *Hand-book to the . . . Literature of Great Britain* (London, J. R. Smith, 1867), p. 608.

⁴ R. J. Kane, *Joseph Hall and Work for Chimney-Sweepers* in: Modern Language Association of America, *Publications* (Menasha, Wisc., George Banta Publishing Company, 1936), LI: 407-413.

⁵ *Tobacco: Its History Illustrated by the Books, Manuscripts and Engravings in the Library of George Arents, Jr. . . . By Jerome E. Brooks* (New York, The Rosenbach Company, 1937), I: No. 61.

necessary if E had been printed before C. In any event the book is so small that there would seem to be no reason for dividing the copy before printing.

Either Bushel turned the book over to Creede to finish after East had printed A-C; or East printed the entire book but before many copies were sold the last three gatherings of the pamphlet were lost or destroyed, and Bushel had Creede print others to replace them.

PAUL S. DUNKIN

A Check-List of Young's "Night-Thoughts in America"

"Peter Parley" accompanied the story of Connecticut Yankees who marketed nutmegs and oak-leaf cigars with the equally outrageous account of a peddler who sold five thousand copies of Young's *Night-Thoughts* in the South and West with the lure that they were "bad" books.¹ However faithful to reality this anecdote may be, there can be no question of the wide sale of the *Night-Thoughts* in America.

A selection of quotations can be cited to epitomize the history of the poem in America from the time of its earliest reception to the time of the passing of its influence. Benjamin Franklin sent one of the first copies from London to reach America with the promise that it was "the largest Print I could find."² That was in 1773, fully thirty years after its début in London and four years before the first American printing. Twenty-five years later, as an early augur of the romantic sentimentality which was to carry the poem into its heyday, the readers of Charles Brockden Brown's *Alcuin; a Dialogue*, learned that "to read, to write, to meditate, to watch a declining moon, and the varying firmament . . . with the optics of Dr. Young . . . were delightful occupations."³ At the height of the vogue, Poe snorted a portent of its rejection by linking it with "fustian about church-yards . . . [and] bugaboo tales."⁴ Finally, as if in recognition of the fact that its influence had passed into history and become an object for sober analysis, Emerson wrote that "nobody can . . . recall the conversation of old-school

¹ Samuel Griswold Goodrich, *Recollections of a Lifetime* (New York, Miller, Orton and Mulligan, 1856), II: 63n.

² George S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937), p. 424.

³ Type-facsimile reprint of the 1798 edition (New Haven, C. and Margaret Rollins, 1935), p. 11.

⁴ In *The Premature Burial*.

people, without seeing that . . . Young had a religious authority in their mind."⁵

The real popularity of the *Night-Thoughts* in America, as the following check-list shows, did not begin until the early years of the nineteenth century, and it was nipped by the Civil War so sharply that one is struck with the effect of the War on literary taste just as much as with the earlier rôle of the *Night-Thoughts* in the cultural forces which shaped the War. These are problems which interest us, but which await the accuracy of descriptive bibliography and the study of literary reputation on a definitely factual basis to give sharp focus to the image dimly seen.

The present check-list is a beginning. It has been made possible through use of the following libraries: American Antiquarian Society, Boston Athenaeum, British Museum, Cornell University, General Theological of Boston, Harvard, John Carter Brown, Library Company of Philadelphia, New York Public, and the Universities of Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Yale. From the custodians of each of these I have had generous help in one way and another. At one time Dr. William A. Hammond of the Library of Congress checked the entire list and aided in locating exceedingly rare copies. That the list is not complete is very possible, but that many additions will be made is unlikely. That many of the imprints in the check-list unquestionably represent only various title-pages affixed to the same editions still does not detract substantially from the impressive record which the sheer number of title-pages affords. In the meantime, it is supposed that the list will provide a point of departure for a complete and accurate bibliography.

Most of the editions are cheap little duodecimos like that stereotyped in 1818, measuring $5\frac{3}{8}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, or the 1805 Troy edition of 6 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; some are of slightly more elegant octavos like the 1808 Bedford edition of $6\frac{7}{8}$ by 4 inches; one, stereotyped in 1839, is a precious little 64mo of $3\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Probably the poorest editions from all aspects are the two last recorded, of Tallman and Hurst, dates unknown but apparently late in the century. By all odds the best edition is that edited by the scholar and one-time Professor of Moral Philosophy at Hamilton College, James R. Boyd (1804-1890), first published in 1851 by Charles Scribner. The Boyd edition may be thought to compensate for the fact that the best English edition of Young, that prefaced by an essay on Young's life by Doran, was not reprinted in America.

⁵ *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1903-1904. Centenary Edition), X: 402.

The check-list extends only to 1900 and is divided into two parts: (1) Young's *Complaint, or Night-Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* and (2) Young's *Works*.

I. *Check-list of the "Night-Thoughts"*

1. Philadelphia, 1777. Printed and sold by Robert Bell.
2. Philadelphia, 1787. Printed and sold by Prichard and Hall.
3. Newburyport. Printed by John Mycall for the proprietor of the Boston Book-Store. Evans (*American Bibliography*) assigns the date 1790; a copy in the John Hay Library of Brown University has the date 1805 written in it in contemporary hand.
4. Philadelphia, 1791. Printed and sold by Henry Taylor.
5. Philadelphia, 1791. Printed and sold by W. Woodhouse.
6. New York, 1796. Printed by John Tiebout for N. Bell.
7. New York, 1796. Printed by John Tiebout for J. Reid, J. Harrisson, C. Davis, E. Mitchell, P. A. Mesier, C. Smith, J. S. Mott, J. Lyon, and N. Bell.
8. Philadelphia, 1798. Printed by W. W. Woodward for Cornelius W. Stafford.
9. Lewistown, 1804. Printed by Edward Cole.
10. Philadelphia, 1804.
11. Troy, 1805. Printed and sold by O. Penniman and Co.
12. New York, 1805. Published by Sage and Thompson.
13. New Bedford, 1808. Printed and sold by A. Shearman, jun.
14. New York, 1809. Published by M. and W. Ward.
15. Hartford, 1810. Published by Horatio G. Hale and Co.
16. Philadelphia. Without the publisher's name or date, but similar in other respects to preceding item.
17. Troy, 1812. Printed and sold by Parker and Bliss.
18. Baltimore, 1812. Printed by Benjamin Eades for Neal and Wills.
19. New York, 1813. Printed by C. S. Van Winkle for D. Huntington.
20. New York, 1813. Printed by George Long for E. Duyckinck.
21. Newburyport, 1814. Published by William B. Allen and Co.
22. Hartford, 1815. Printed by S. Marks for Sheldon and Goodwin.
23. New York, 1816. Published by Richard Scott.
24. Philadelphia, 1816. Published by J. Pounder.

25. Philadelphia, 1816. Published by Johnson and Warner, Emmor Kimber, Solomon W. Conrad, M. Carey, Bennett and Walton, Abraham Small, B. and T. Kite, B. C. Buzby, John Richardson, Edward Parker, and Isaac Pierce.
26. Salem, 1818. Printed by P. N. Green for Thomas Carey.
27. Haverhill, 1818. Published by P. N. Green.
28. Brookfield, 1818. Printed by E. Merriam and Company.
29. New York, 1818. Stereotyped by C. Starr for R. and W. A. Bartow.
30. New York, 1819. Stereotyped by C. Starr for R. and W. A. Bartow.
31. Haverhill, 1820. Printed by Burrill and Hersey for N. Burrill, Haverhill; Cushing and Appleton, and Henry Whipple, Salem.
32. Philadelphia, 1820, 2 vols. Printed by Anderson and Meehan for John Stevenson.
33. Philadelphia, 1820. Printed by Anderson and Meehan for John Stevenson. Includes only the first six parts of the *Night-Thoughts* and, except for title-page, appears to be identical with the first volume of the preceding item.
34. New York, 1820. R. and W. A. Bartow. An engraved title-page prefixed to item 30.
35. New York, 1821. R. and W. A. Bartow.
36. Brunswick, 1822. Printed by J. Griffin for T. Bedlington, Boston.
37. Providence, 1823. Printed by John Miller for Joseph M'Intire.
38. Hartford, 1823. Published by Silas Andrus.
39. New York, 1823. Published by Johnston and Van Norden. Engraved title-page prefixed to item 38.
40. New York, 1824. Published by Johnston and Van Norden.
41. Hartford, 1824, 2 vols. Published by Silas Andrus. Volume 1 has also the engraved title-page of item 39 even as to date.
42. Hartford, 1824, 2 vols. Published by Silas Andrus.
43. Boston, 1825. Stereotyped by T. H. Carter and Co. for Bedlington.
44. Boston, 1826. Published by Bedlington.
45. New York, 1828. Published by Johnston and Van Norden. Engraved title-page prefixed to item 46.
46. Hartford, 1830. Published by Silas Andrus.
47. Philadelphia, 1830. Published by Locken.
48. Philadelphia, 1830. Published by Stoddart and Atherton. Engraved title-page prefixed to item 35.
49. Boston, 1832. Published by C. D. Strong.

50. Hartford, 1833. Published by Andrus and Judd.
51. Exeter, 1834. Published by J. and B. Williams.
52. Hartford, 1835. Published by Andrus and Judd. Engraved title-page prefixed to item 58.
53. Halifax, 1835. Printed for William Milner.
54. Hartford, 1837. Published by Judd, Loomis and Co.
55. Boston, 1837. T. H. Carter, agent.
56. Philadelphia, 1838. Philadelphia, James Kay, jun. and Brother; Pittsburgh, John I. Kay and Co.
57. Portland, 1839. Stereotyped by Allison and Foster for Oliver L. Sanborn.
58. New York, 1839. Published by Robinson and Franklin.
59. Boston, 1839. Published by Weeks, Jordan and Co.
60. Boston, 1840. Published by Weeks, Jordan and Co.
61. Hartford, 1841. Published by William Andrus.
62. Boston, 1841. Published by E. Littlefield.
63. Philadelphia, 1842. Printed by King and Baird for Crolius and Gladding.
64. Portland, 1844. Stereotyped by Allison and Foster for Sanborn and Carter. See similar edition item 57.
65. Philadelphia, 1845. Printed by King and Baird for Uriah Hunt and Son. See similar edition item 63.
66. Hartford, 1845. Published by S. Andrus and Son.
67. Boston, 1845. Published by Phillips and Sampson and bound with Milton's *Paradise Lost*.
68. Hartford, 1846. Published by S. Andrus and Son.
69. Philadelphia, 1847. Published by J. Harding.
70. Boston, 1847. Published by Phillips and Sampson.
71. Boston, 1848. Published by Phillips and Sampson.
72. Philadelphia, 1848. Published by Griffith and Simon.
73. Portland, 1848. Stereotyped by Allison and Foster for Sanborn and Carter. See similar edition item 57.
74. New York, 1849. Stereotyped by Thomas B. Smith and printed by Robert Craighead for Carter and Bros.
75. New York, 1849. Published by Leavitt and Co.
76. New York. Published at New York by D. Appleton and Co. and at Philadelphia by George S. Appleton. Library of Congress assigns date of ? 184-; copy in Yale library has 1849 written in it.

77. Philadelphia. Published by George S. Appleton. Same as preceding item except for title-page.
78. Boston, 1850.
79. New York, 1851. Published by Appleton.
80. New York, 1851. Edited by James Robert Boyd and published by C. Scribner.
81. Boston, 1852. Published by Phillips, Sampson and Co.
82. New York, 1852. Published at New York by A. S. Barnes and Co. and at Cincinnati by H. W. Derby and Co. Boyd edition item 80. New York Public Library has a copy similar to this without Cincinnati imprint and without date.
83. New York, 1854. Published at New York by A. S. Barnes and Co. and at Cincinnati by H. W. Derby and Co. Boyd edition item 80.
84. New York, 1856. Published at New York by A. S. Barnes and Co. and at Cincinnati by H. W. Derby and Co. Boyd edition item 80.
85. New York, 1856. Published by D. Appleton and Co., with notes by George Gilfillan. Similar to an edition published in 1853 in Edinburgh by James Nichol, London by James Nisbet and Co., and Dublin by W. Robertson.
86. Boston, 1858.
87. New York, 1860. Stereotyped by Thomas B. Smith for Robert Carter and Bros., see item 74.
88. New York, 1867. Published by D. Appleton and Co.
89. New York. Published by Robert Carter and Bros., see item 74. Library of the University of Virginia assigns date of 1876; New York Public Library assigns date of ? 188-.
90. New York, 1880. Published by R. Carter and Bros., see item 74.
91. New York. Published by William H. Tallman, date unknown.
92. New York. Published by Hurst and Co., date unknown.

II. *Check-list of Young's "Works"*

93. Philadelphia, 1805, 4 vols. Printed by B. Johnson for Benjamin, Jacob, and Robert Johnson.
94. Charlestown, 1811, 3 vols. Printed by W. S. and H. Spear for C.W. S. and H. Spear.
95. Philadelphia, 1816, 2 vols. Published by M. Carey, Johnson and Warner, Bennett and Walton, Abraham Small, Emmor Kimber, B. C. Buzby, B. and T. Kite, Solomon W. Conrad, John Richardson, Edward Parker, and Isaac Pierce.

96. Philadelphia, 1819-1822, 2 vols. Volume 1 printed by William Brown for Mitchell, Ames and White; Volume 2 printed by William Brown and published by Samuel F. Bradford for John Laval. These are volumes 25 and 26 of *Works of the British Poets*, edited by R. Walsh, jr.
97. Philadelphia, 1832. Stereotyped by J. Crissy and G. Goodman for John Grigg, in *Poetical Works of Milton, Young, Gray, Beattie, and Collins*.
98. Philadelphia, 1836. Stereotyped by J. Crissy and G. Goodman for J. Grigg. A reprint of item 97.
99. Boston, 1854, 2 vols. Published at Boston by Little, Brown and Co., at New York by Evans and Dickerson, and at Philadelphia by Lippincott, Grambo and Co. In *Collection of British Poets* by F. J. Child, with biography by J. Mitford, a reprint of the *Aldine* edition published in London in 1834 by William Pickering.
100. Philadelphia, 1857. Published by J. Lippincott and Co. Similar to item 97.
101. Boston, 1859, 2 vols. Published by Little, Brown and Co. Similar to item 99.
102. Philadelphia, 1860. Published by J. B. Lippincott and Co. Similar to item 97.
103. Boston, 1864, 2 vols. Published by Little, Brown and Co. Similar to item 99.
104. Boston, 1866, 2 vols. Published by Little, Brown and Co. Similar to item 99.
105. Boston, 1870, 2 vols. Published by Little, Brown and Co. Similar to item 99.
106. Boston, 1871, 2 vols. Published by James R. Osgood Co. Similar to item 99.
107. Boston, 1875, 2 vols. Published by James R. Osgood Co. Similar to item 99.
108. Boston, 1880, 2 vols. in 1. Published by Houghton, Mifflin and Co. Similar to item 99.

HENRY PETTIT

Book Reviews

MOTT, FRANK LUTHER. *Golden Multitudes; the Story of Best Sellers in the United States*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947. xii, 357 pp. 9½ x 6¼ inches. \$5.00.

What is a best seller? According to George Stevens, in his brief but perceptive *Lincoln's Doctor's Dog and Other Famous Best Sellers* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1939), it is "a book that is good of its kind—that fills a need or supplies a deep satisfaction." The definition is not incompatible with the measuring-rod set up by Dr. Mott in this full-dress study of the best seller in the United States: "a book . . . believed to have had a total sale equal to one per cent of the population of continental United States (or the English colonies in the years before the Revolution) for the decade in which it was published." Thus Michael Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom* qualified with a sale of one thousand before 1690, while *Forever Amber* had to sell one million three hundred thousand copies between 1940 and 1945 to enter the charmed circle. (These extremes neatly illustrate the two chief factors of a best seller, according to the author—religious appeal and sensationalism.) Four of the twenty-one other "over-all best sellers" are specially edited Pocket Books. Pocket editions have assisted nearly as many books to the ranks of best sellers as the cheap American "libraries" of the seventies and eighties, before the international copyright agreement of 1891.

There is nothing in the least dryly statistical about Dr. Mott's book, however. It is social history of an exceptionally interesting kind; continuously readable; and certain to cause many nostalgic twinges in readers who, to paraphrase Willa Cather, are Not Under Fifty. To these can be recommended such chapters as "Literary Fevers of the Nineties," "The Romantic Parade," and "The Case of the Best Seller Mystery," complete with Sherlock Holmes.

A few slips are noticeable: *The Martians* (p. 191 and Index) for George du Maurier's *The Martian*, and "Fifteen men on a dead man's chest" for "the Dead Man's Chest" (p. 207), while that conscientious spinster,

Marilla Cuthbert, of *Anne of Green Gables*, is twice called Mrs. Cuthbert and is quite evidently believed to be the wife of her brother Matthew. The 1944 volume of these PAPERS is Vol. XXXVIII, not VIII (p. 106).

The apt title is derived from *Henry IV, First Part*, by William Shakespeare, an over-all best seller (over two million copies in the United States):

The more and less came in with cap and knee;
Met him on bridges, stood in lanes,
Laid gifts before him, proffered him their oaths,
Gave him their heirs, as pages followed him
Even at the heels in golden multitudes.

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

A Selection of Extremely Rare and Important Printed Books and Ancient Manuscripts Offered for Sale by William H. Robinson Ltd. London, William H. Robinson Ltd., 1948. 200 pp. Plates, facsimiles. 11 x 8¼ inches. \$8.00. (Catalogue 77)

Messrs. Robinson in their foreword to this handsome volume, bound in stiff boards, with a monochrome illustration of each item offered, justifiably use a number of superlatives which are all too freely employed in many other dealers' catalogues. Most of the 194 items offered are rare, just as they claim they are, in the absolute as well as in the comparative sense, and practically none is of little interest even to so specialized a collector as the reviewer, who also likes to think of himself as a general, as well as genuine, booklover.

The range is indeed very wide, covering a multitude of interests. A subject index at the end contains 55 headings, which could be still further subdivided without undue license. The range in date, as in geographical space, is nearly as wide as may be—all the way from a particularly important and fascinating Babylonian cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar, made in the very early sixth century B. C., to publications of the nineteenth century and our own era.

It is difficult, therefore, to pick out individual titles for comment without seeming to slight others, and quite impossible to make valid comparisons of importance or quality. The opinions here expressed are necessarily brief and personal, but may give some idea of the catalogue's interest.

No bibliophile could fail to be moved by the listing of the first book printed in the English language: Caxton's and Colard Mansion's *Recuyell*

of the *Historyes of Troye*, c. 1475. The double-page illustration shows the book to be in good condition despite the eight missing leaves which have been supplied in facsimile. One is only somewhat less enthusiastic about condition in the Sherborne Abbey Cartulary, and the Byzantine Gospels MS which are of a type and a period rarely offered to book collectors in our generation.

Hariot's *Virginia* needs no comment as the book is widely known, but other early books should be a real surprise even to the most learned professionals: such volumes as Gui de Chauliac's work on surgery (Seville, 1498), von Kaiserberg's *Cinderella* and the Abbeville *Neuf Preux*, or Nine Worthies. If, in respect to the latter's superlative importance, or that of Yciar's first writing book of 1548, the reviewer cannot altogether agree, it does not remove either title from the list of very desirable items in their respective fields.

Once in a while the reader will be shocked by the prices. In these times fine books and manuscripts come high in the auction rooms even more than on the dealer's shelves. Vesalius' great *Anatomy* has jumped since last the writer priced it, but when one stops to think of its beauty and importance, nearly any price is still justified. By contrast Dürer's *Little Passion* and the first Bible in Danish seem really cheap, and that is how all dealers' catalogues must be, given their opportunities as well as difficulties in purchasing.

A collector of eighteenth-century literature should thrill at the opportunity to buy the first serial publication of *Robinson Crusoe*. The original journal and log book of *North-West Foxe* should be even more exciting to the collector of travel. And so it goes, from a really fine Mme Pompadour binding with silvered arms, to the opera printed at the order of Henri Christophe in Haiti at his "Royal Press."

The Robinson firm should be congratulated on a splendid publication in times when such "extravagances" are not easy or frequent.

PHILIP HOFER

POWELL, LAWRENCE CLARK, ed. *William Andrews Clark Memorial Library: Report of the First Decade, 1934-1944*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1946. xii, 78 pp. Plates. 8¼ x 5½ inches.

The William Andrews Clark Memorial Library came to the University

of California at Los Angeles under conditions which may be regarded as ideal both for a donor and for an institution that is to receive a great collection of books. A fireproof, air-conditioned building was a part of the gift. A generous fund was set aside both to maintain it and to continue the development of the collection on a scale the University could not hope to equal. Finally, Mr. Clark's books were an especially useful and appropriate addition to the resources of the University's library. The collection was notable in English literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with special emphasis on the Age of Dryden. It included a fine representation of literary works of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, musical scores and manuscripts, examples of fine printing, and the collections of Wildeana and Montana materials, which, unlike his other acquisitions, Mr. Clark bought *en bloc*.

At the end of the first ten years of its stewardship the University has published a symposium, edited by Lawrence Clark Powell, in which the library's history and surveys of its major holdings are presented. The number of volumes has been almost doubled during the decade. The factors of space and insufficient income, which stifle the plans of most libraries, do not intrude upon the record.

As the report indicates, the policies of a private library must necessarily be altered in some respects when it becomes part of a public institution. The Clark Library has sensibly withdrawn from fields in which the neighboring Huntington Library is preëminent. A Publications series has been started and a Graduate Fellowship awarded annually. For the period 1640 to 1750 the selection of books is no longer confined to the purely literary but has been moved to the wider boundary of all intellectual activities. In the interests of research, photographic reproductions of unprocurable rarities have been obtained. Emphasis is still placed on older and less accessible books but the convenience of students, faculty and qualified users has been served by the addition of working copies of essential texts and the most needed works of reference. These innovations have been made for the greater usefulness of the collection. In spirit and in practice the Clark Library has retained an interest in Mr. Clark's specialties and carried forward the plans he had hoped to fulfill.

GERALD D. McDONALD

Guide to the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, a Memorial to Jane Addams.

Compiled by Ellen Starr Brinton and Hiram Doty with the assistance of Gladys Hill. Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1947. 72 pp. (Swarthmore College Bulletin. Peace Collection Publication No. 1.)

All too frequently special collections of books and manuscripts find their way to libraries of institutions whose *raison d'être* has little to do with the subject interest they represent. The Swarthmore College Peace Collection is properly housed in an institution in full sympathy with the cause of peace.

A detailed catalogue or even the calendaring of these papers would be a time-consuming and expensive task. For the historian and the research student this *Guide* will give a broad hint as to the richness of the collections. There are forty-four main document groups originating with organizations and individuals interested in the promotion of peace. In addition, there are 144 collective document groups emanating from American organizations or individuals, 102 originating in other countries, and twelve miscellaneous collections such as cartoons and peace posters. For each of these a brief descriptive note, the dates covered and the linear measure of shelf space is given. Another group of publications of non-peace organizations and miscellaneous documents concerning conflicts between races, classes, political or cultural minority groups is not described in comparable detail. A carefully prepared index accompanying the text reveals the names of a variety of persons and movements, such as the Ford Peace Ship Expedition, Mohandas K. Gandhi, Herbert Hoover and others.

The materials represented in the Swarthmore College Peace Collections would in many libraries be classed as ephemeral, due to be discarded eventually. They are, however, as much a history of our time as records of war and diplomatic negotiation. Gathered together in a single institution they give evidence of the widespread desire for peace. The publication of this pamphlet should bring similar collections to Swarthmore, and organizations already represented should continue to strengthen their deposits. Individuals and libraries "weeding" their holdings should also welcome the opportunity to dispose of materials suited to the collection.

FLORA B. LUDINGTON

Afmæliskeðja til Halldórs Hermannssonar 6. janúar 1948. Reykjavík. Landsbókasafn Íslands [1948]. 166 pp. Facsimiles. 10¼ x 7½ inches.

Thus far I have been able to locate only two *Festschriften* in honor of American citizens which have been written, edited, and published outside of the United States. The first is a handsome but rather modest little volume dedicated to J. Christian Bay on the occasion of his seventieth birthday by Danish State Librarian Svend Dahl. It is well-nigh unknown in this country and deserves a better fate than the relative oblivion in which it is buried at present.¹ The second, also dedicated to a librarian, is the well-earned homage volume published by the National Library of Iceland (Landsbókasafn) for Halldór Hermannsson of Cornell.

There are ten essays, one devoted to typographical history, three to library history, and six to literary history. The essay on typographical history is a discussion of printing types in the first century of printing in Iceland by Halbjörn Halldórsson, a worthy supplement to Daniel Berkeley Updike's monumental treatise. Printing did not come to Iceland until 1534, when stout old Bishop Jón Arason established a press at the episcopal seat in Hólar in order to bolster Catholicism against the heretical Danish king. There was little beauty and even less originality in the type faces used by sixteenth-century Icelandic printers, but they founded a national industry which today produces the world's record number of books (volumes and titles) per capita.

One of the essays on library history is of particular interest in this country: Stefán Einarsson's account of the remarkable library of Nikulás Otten-son of Winnipeg, acquired in the winter of 1942-1943 by the Johns Hopkins University Library. The printed books include one sixteenth-century title, seventeen seventeenth-century titles (all with imprints of Skálholt and Hólum), and fifty-eight eighteenth-century titles. There are twenty-eight manuscripts, nearly all from the last century. A somewhat more fascinating library was that of Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson (1605-1675), perhaps the greatest collector in the history of Iceland. In spite of a thorough education in Greek and Latin, Brynjólfur collected Icelandica with a passion. He acquired the Codex Regius (of the Elder Edda) in 1643, and subsequently excavated from the countryside such prizes as Are

¹ Krøyer, Henrik. *Til Minde om Zoologen Henrik Krøyer, udgivet i Anledning af J. Christian Bays Halvfjerdsdaarsdag* 12. Oktober 1941. Copenhagen, Boghallen, Alfred G. Hassing A/S, 1941. xix, 94 pp. Frontispiece (portrait). 7¾ x 5¼ inches. "Trykt hos Niels P. Thomsen, Holstebro, i 400 nummererede Eksemplarer, hvoraf 250 kommer i Handelen" (p. iv). "Inledning," by Svend Dahl, p. ix-xix.

Frøde's *Islendingabók* (known today only in the copy made by Rev. Jón Erlendsson for his bishop). Many of the original manuscripts went to Copenhagen as gifts to friends, and copies of many fell into the hands of Arne Magnusson. Both groups have ultimately gravitated to the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Jón Helgason's essay on the episcopal library deals with the Greek and Latin books in Brynjólfur's collection and the story of how he collected them, all based on a catalog and letters preserved in the Arnarnaglean Collection at the Royal Library in Copenhagen. The Latin correspondence with Joachim Moltke ("bibliopola Hafniensis") is a classic example of dealer-collector relationships. The third essay on library history is Guðbrandur Jónsson's account of Icelandic libraries before the Reformation, a special feature of which is a classified table of the holdings of Icelandic religious houses prior to the victory of Lutheranism.

Only one of the essays in literary history deals with the Middle Ages. Þórhallur Þorgilsson's study of medieval Icelandic literature based on Italian works (mainly religious, especially homiletic) is a fruitful excursion into a field of comparative literature that is not well enough known. From the seventeenth century there are two essays, one by Björn Sigfússon on Kolbeinn Grímsson, a remarkable peasant-poet (same combination found in so many Icelandic literary personalities!) of Einararlón in Snaefellsnessýsla. Among the Icelandic peasantry Kolbeinn ranks with Rev. Hallgrímur Petursson as the best known seventeenth-century psalmist. A manuscript of Petursson's *Passíusálmar* in the Landsbókasafn has been reproduced in facsimile.² The other seventeenth-century study is Jakob Benediktsson's essay on Icelandic authorities cited by St. J. Stephanus in his 1645 edition of Saxo. Benediktsson examines Stephanus' use of printed books, older manuscripts, and contemporary documents, particularly the brilliant notes of Brynjólfur Sveinsson, who generously placed the fruits of his work at the Dane's disposal.

Sigfús Blöndal contributes an interesting study of Scandinavian backgrounds for Hugues Le Roux' *Les Aimants byzantins* (1897), a historical romance of Miklagarð (Istanbul). Sigurður Nordal reports some little-known aspects of the scholarly career of Grímur Thomsen, Danish diplomat and Icelandic poet, who studied at the University of Copenhagen in

² Petursson, Hallgrímur. *Passíusálmar*. [Reykjavík?], Lithoprent, 1946. 94 unnumbered pp. reproducing ms. in facsimile, 4 unnumbered pp. 11¼ x 8¼ inches. "Nokkur orð um handritið," by Páll Eggert Ólason, p. [1-4]. A facsimile of Kolbeinn's *Psalmar* of 1682, is also needed, since there are but three known copies, all in Reykjavík.

the late 1830's and 1840's. Steingrímur J. Iorsteinsson makes a textual analysis of Einar Benediktsson's *Pétur Gautur* (translation of *Peer Gynt*) on the basis of an obscure 1897 printing, the well-known 1901 edition (a rarity that appeared in only thirty copies), and a 1922 revision.

The Icelandic National Library, whose present director is Finnur Sigmundsson, is to be congratulated on the publication of this fitting tribute to Halldór Hermannsson, the Hallgrímur facsimile, and other publications, notably a new *Árbók* (two volumes this far), and a recent edition of Guðmundur Bergþorsson's *Olgeirs rímur danska* (1947) in two volumes. If the Library of Congress issued books in proportional quantities, it would be one of America's greatest publishers.

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

The London Compositor, Documents Relating to Wages, Working Conditions, and Customs of the London Printing Trade, 1785-1900. Edited by Ellic Howe. London, The Bibliographical Society, 1947. 528 pp. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. 30s. or \$9.00 (Toronto).

Reading Ellic Howe's preface to *The London Compositor, 1785-1900* brought me back to a week in January, 1941, when Rebecca West had an unforgettable piece in *The New Yorker* which recounted step-by-step the story of a visit to London, the day after an air raid. With the memorable understatement we term typically British, Miss West told of visiting her apartment and of her sickening anger at the destruction of a prized Empire table she had owned throughout her married life. Somehow its ruin symbolized the horror that made repeated air raids a nerve-racking experience.

Mr. Howe, with equal simplicity, reveals how the manuscript of his book, stored in his wife's hat-box in 1939, survived repeated air raids until, in December 1943, the first of one hundred and seventy-five galleys of type was composed. Mrs. Howe had wisely suggested the precaution of setting the book and sending several sets of proofs to friends in different districts.

"In June 1944" [he writes] "a few days after the Armies of Liberation had landed in Normandy, the Germans began to launch pilotless aircraft on London, causing great damage and destruction. It is true that there existed several copies of the book in galley proof, but I was now also the worried owner of about five hundred pounds worth of typesetting, which had been paid for. The flying bombs fell all around my printing office, but it was never hit. Finally I was able

to borrow a lorry, had the galleys loaded on to it, and early one morning set forth for Messrs. Clowe's printing works at Beccles. . . . As I write these words, in February, 1945, explosive rockets occasionally fall within earshot, but the Russian Armies are massing on the Oder and the end of both the war and the making of this book seems near."

Mr. Howe's book was largely a product of the war years. His study began in the autumn of 1937, when Stanley Morison passed on to him a pile of documents and photostats, mainly of material issued by the London compositors' trade union at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Many of the original documents were the property of the late Charles T. Jacobi of the Chiswick Press, and are in the possession of the Cambridge University Press. Other collections in even greater number are referred to, particularly at the St. Bride Foundation, the Archives of the London Society of Compositors and the eighteenth-century apprentice registers of the Stationers' Company.

Mr. Howe would have liked to cover the first four centuries of printing in his book. Unhappily, documents of a date earlier than 1785 are few in number—possibly because "there is no evidence to prove the existence of a printer's trade union before 1785." The Webbs, he points out, defined a trade union as a "continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives." Naturally, until such an association was in being, there was neither opportunity nor necessity for the continuous codification of relationships between employers and employed.

The material and documents printed for the period 1785-1900 total well over 210,000 words and illumine these aspects of the nineteenth-century London printing trade: 1. The industrialization of the craft—its continued increase in individual offices and the trade as a whole. 2. The growth of specialization: The existence of offices undertaking specific kinds of work, as distinct from eighteenth-century firms which took all classes of work. 3. The influence of the London Scale of Prices for Compositors' Work upon aspects of the trade under examination. 4. The effects of mechanization, particularly in the composing room.

Despite the detailed documentation Mr. Howe does not attempt to provide a consecutive record of events. His book "is neither a history of the London trade . . . nor a formal record, year by year, of the Compositors' Union and its relations with employers, although the documents now reprinted are undoubtedly essential material for either project. They are

equally valuable for any detailed study of the products of the trade . . . they cover."

To appraise the material properly one would need the combined qualifications of an economist, a social historian, and a specialist in labor relations and the history of trade unionism. Mr. Howe states his approach: "that of a student of the history of printing, and as such I have selected and interpreted my material." How well he has selected and interpreted can be appreciated by opening the book at random and selecting several pertinent excerpts from among the scores that might be quoted, were not space a limiting factor:

"The first composing machine, or mechanical type-setting apparatus, the Young-Delcambre invention, was working in London between 1841 and possibly 1846. The men were hostile to what they considered a threat to their employment. It was not, however, until fifty years later that the problem became acute, since in the intervening period composing machinery was never used in London other than experimentally, and then only in a few instances. The exception was at *The Times*, where the Kastenbein machine was operated from 1872 onwards; but since that office did not employ union labour, and was a law unto itself, no complaint was or could be made." (p. 65)

"The size of the sheet upon which books or periodicals were printed affected the price to be paid for make-up and imposition. The effect of the growth in the use of printing machinery, which was considerable after 1840, was that larger sheets could be printed than were possible with the hand press. This development is clearly shown by the compositors' desire, in 1845, to specify a maximum sheet size for charging purposes." (p. 66)

"The deterioration in the standards of printing, so evident during the century, were due to piece-work in the composing room, to increasing employment, from 1840 onwards, of the steam-driven printing machine in the press-room, and to the use of cheap machine-made papers. A high standard of type-setting cannot be achieved if the niceties of spacing must be sacrificed to speed, and celerity was required if the compositor was to earn an adequate wage. . . ." (p. 67)

As this comment is proofread (May, 1948), it is pertinent to consider that International Typographical Union No. 16 has been on strike in newspaper offices in Chicago since November last. The six newspapers continued publication by the expedient of typewritten photo-engraved pages produced outside composing rooms by typists, artists, and news-writers. These papers are by no means as readable as the normal printer's product, nor does the method compare in speed and flexibility with the product of the newspaper composing room. In New York, newspapers similarly

equipped and trained personnel to insure publication during weeks of contractual negotiations with the I. T. U. local.

It is interesting to read in Document XLV (which Mr. Howe reprints under the date of January 11, 1810) the following comment on "most general causes which do, or ought to, determine the wages of journeymen, generally: 1, the demand for their services; 2, the usefulness, and the prices, of the articles produced by their labour; 3, the income which is necessary for their support." The 1810 tabulation of expense, incidentally, including rent, clothing, shoes and food, needed for the support of a man, his wife and two children, totalled two pounds seven shillings per week.

The contrast in 1948 is fascinating: In the proposals made by the scale committee of ITU No. 16 to Chicago newspaper publishers, day workers were to be paid \$102.60 a week for 32½ hours, instead of \$85.50 paid for a work week of 36½ hours—an increase of \$17.10, with four less hours per week. Night workers were to be paid not less than \$112.86 (instead of \$91) for 32½ hours—an increase of \$21.86.

The problems of the compositor of 1810 or 1948 seem basically similar, despite differing conditions of work, wages, the purchasing power of money, and the gains of collective bargaining. Summarized in the words of the 1810 negotiator: "We hope none . . . will be unmindful of the arduous situation of their fellow-workmen, who, with moderate abilities, and common average work, have the honourable misfortune of a family to support, with no other means than the produce of their labour as compositors. . . ."

PAUL A. BENNETT

THE AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE

DAVID A. RANDALL has been head of the Rare Book Department of Scribner's Book Store in New York since 1935. He revised and enlarged John T. Winterich's *Primer of Book-Collecting* in 1946, and is currently the conductor of two departments: *The Court of Appeals* in *The New Colophon*, and *Bibliographical Notes* in *The Baker Street Journal*.

HAZEL DREIS is the daughter of a Minnesota country newspaper editor, and set her first stick of type from the hell box before she was six. After newspaper work in Los Angeles and San Francisco, Miss Dreis trained as a binder in England with Roger de Coverly Sons, returning to San Francisco to open a shop of her own, where she bound the entire 400-copy edition of the Random House *Leaves of Grass*. She is at present living in Washington, D. C., where she has bound and taught at the Catholic University of America.

GEORGE T. GOODSPEED is in charge of the First Editions Department at Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston.

GEORGE K. BOYCE is a member of the staff of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. After taking his Ph.D. at Yale in 1933, he spent two years in Italy as Fellow in Classical Studies at the American Academy in Rome, where his later activities as Librarian of the Academy were cut short by the war. He returned to the Morgan Library in 1946 after a four-year leave of absence spent in Army Intelligence.

This issue of the PAPERS was edited by EARLE F. WALBRIDGE of the Reference staff, Washington Square Library, New York University, who edited the four previous numbers.